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Subject General Notes

Instructor XVII

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Jan 5 ∧ The advantage of Gandhi's method of all open & above board & giving the opponent ample notice is that so much of the story gets known in advance that it is harder for lying propaganda of the violent party after the struggle starts.

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at the start quite a few Britons will voice criticism re. the govt in India. But as the struggle proceeds & they find it is really a struggle that really threatens the Empire, the ranks will close for awhile & no criticism will be heard.

After the struggle has gone on long enough to weaken the Indian govt financially, Br. investors will demand that Macdonald carry out

province of Br. Govt to guarantee loans to India. Trouble there.

What attitude will the Br. dominions take toward the struggle in India? Pro Br, no doubt, as they uphold all Asiatics. Yet this only hurts Britain, because it hampers her latent desire to be decent if & when possible. So the eventual defeat of Gr Br will make the Dominions sore as Br.

N.V.Rs. know even more than soldiers. Soldiers know much about human psychology as seen in 1st class VI class. But N.V.Rs know more.

At present G.B. is angry with Indian Congress, thinking it can be defeated. When the

resistance wages stronger & lasts a number of months, Br. feeling will turn to fear. After it has lasted longer & practically all the trade is gone & Br. prestige is so badly lowered that she realizes that the only way to secure trade & remainder of investments in ~~expelling India~~ & to regain the regard of the world & of decent people everywhere is to release India, then the basis of fear will have gone. Then she will quit.

In violent war the wounded sap morale. In N.V.R. the sufferings of the wounded are themselves a ~~means of~~ weapon not only to change the heart of the opponent but to justify the victim. ∴ Does not sap morale of N.V.R.

The reaction of the Merchants Chamber of Delhi vs the Congress is perhaps due to a fear of social revolution. That fear may fill certain of the Indian middle class with terror & throw them into the arms of the British. But the flood of peasantry will sweep this question & the Br. cannot exist merely by holding the cities & railways.

Jinnah's advice of combining repression with offers of some sort of constitution will not work for the repression raises too grave doubts as to the sincerity of the other offers. Especially now after so much time has been wasted and the offers are so slight and unsubstantial while the "firm hand" is so appallingly brutal. Lord Irwin did not succeed with

this policy, and if he could not make it work certainly Willingdon will fail. Nor can any of the other Englishmen do it. By the time Sothian and the others get out to India matters will have become so horrible that they will be deeply shocked, and conscience stricken or probably will see how badly they have been misinformed. That will sink in during their stay of several months. Sothian especially will be troubled. Their reports will serve to disturb Govt morale in London.

Govt ordinance making Congress assemblages "likely to disturb the peace" & therefore forbidding them; forbidding spinning classes, as well as picketing of liquor shops shows up the real

meaning of Br. rule & Br. fair words. It is perfectly clear that the Br are out to destroy the Congress & ∴ the only real Indian political party, & only constructive crowd of puppets. All this is clear to Indians, - even Moderates. And while the Moderates are scared of a social revolution & are timid, they will not give active support to Br now. A very few like Sapru may go along but they will have no following in city or country. Only some Moderates will be left. And they will presently crumple enough so that the Br will see there are not enough to govern the country with. Before long the Br will get scared & then there will be still heavier repression, but then only for a short time. The

Tories are effectively ending the empire

An interesting thing about Gandhi as a social reformer is that he has not talked much about the radical implications of his aims and program, but spent most of his time evading trust & love and respect. Upon that foundation he has developed the most radical program of any modern reformer

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A difference between India & Ireland is that in Ireland the two religious communities were separated in different parts of the country. In India they are mostly intermingled.

Sir S. Hain pointed out that tendency of Br. police officers is to

protect the weaker side irrespective of whether it is in the right or not. This may be a bit of chivalry or a bit of cunning on their part.

Perhaps the Br do not dare use lethal gas in India note for fear of the utter horror of Western civilization that it would excite, + a complete shrinking away of all contact with Br.

~~That~~ In the Br. empire Each dominion has enough military power for internal "unity" but not for defence from the outside. Depends on

England for that. Therefore when Indian freedom so gratly reduces the Br. army, it will reduce the security of each Dominion & each dominion will not be so much attached to Br. because Br will no longer be so useful to the Dominions in a military way.

J. F. C. Fuller suggests that on Indian revolution would be to retain Br. army of occupation & let the Indian princes run rule the country in conception, as is done in Egypt.

Dr 2d military chap point out that discipline, plus knowledge, also covers Caesar's objection that a Brahmin cannot maintain a high enough pitch of idealism to carry out L.V.N.

Jan 11. Arrest of Ba will stir up more woes. Arrest of Ansari [redacted] and Abdul Ghaffar Khan endears increased Moslem support. The anger of the Bombay merchants & the [redacted] of their boycott as regards [redacted] Congress will be well financed. The Bo boycott has gone mad with fear & cruelty. I [redacted] expect that Europeans in Bombay are going to give Eghs any serious criticism.

Principal ordinances are finishing all Indian support or attachment to Br. "justice" and law" and "peace". Pax Britannica becomes a stench in Indian nostrils.

When the British Public realizes how completely the Conservative

policy has ruined their British connection + the Br. Empire, they will smash the Communist Party to smithereens. The whole policy of pride + position + autonomy will be washed for good. That will simplify matters for the Labour Party + purify all Br. life. Adam Smoleburg.

Lang Gen.
J. F.C. Fuller "India in Revolt"
Eyre + Spottiswoode, 1931.

p. 34 "If spiritual power is an illusion, then indeed is the future unfathomable: but should it be a reality, then of a certainty are the dice of Fate loaded against us."

p. 45 "Money, thus from a commodity, a convenience, has become a living organism

ism, an insolence which lives on and in the blood of man like a malarious bacillus."

p 48. "From the East came the silkworm, the millstone, the plow, windmills, refined sugar, glass, silk carpets, brocades, and Damascus steel knives, paper, silk, gunpowder, the mariner's compass, and the art of making paper without which the printing press would have been as a man without a wife. The first founded the despotisms of kings, the second led to the discovery of the New World, and the third to the dissemination of knowledge and the spread of the democratic spirit." - - -

p. 51. "The West has wrested the fact from the shadows, just as the

East once awakened the West, and today the discontent in Asia is with herself, just as the discontent in Europe was". --.

p. 65. Quoting Sir Thomas Munro, then governor of Madras, in 1821. -
"The improvement of the character of a people, and the keeping of them, at the same time, in the lowest state of dependency on foreign rulers to which they can be reduced by conquest, are matters quite incompatible with each other"
p. 82 "Without self-determination, that is, power to regulate its own affairs according to its own racial and cultural peculiarities, a nation, or a congries of nations, which India intrinsically is, becomes impoverished and loses its self-respect. Foreign rule emasculates a nation's originality,

and sterilizes to power of growth."
---- "We could not understand the moral effect of our rule. We could not see that it must inevitably lead to moral degeneration and decay, and that this decay could only be averted by the people of the country participating in public life." --

p. 101.

p. 102. "Each outbreak of war has loosed European parties in China. The World War produced no exception to this rule, much the reverse.

p. 106. Referring to Jenin --- "The establishment of social terror remained his sole tool; for with Napoleon he believed that 'There can be no social revolution without terrorism --- How can,' exclaimed

the young republican ground after the events of July 14, 1798, 'those who have the whole administration in their hands, who hold all offices, enjoy all advantages, simply to be told to pack themselves off'. They must be beaten down by Terror, driven to flight, and that is what the lanternes and the guillotine mean for. ---- The masses only really grasped the Revolution when the Terror began."

On p. 117. He says that Ireland is the only real bond between Britain & her dominions. "The one real institution of the empire is the English army".

p. 122. "The fact is that there are too many contending interests, many pathetically powerful, in the British Empire to allow of it ever becoming an econ-

one unit. -- Geographically Great Britain cannot divorce herself from Europe, for western civilization is one -- and Europe is still its centre, -- embraces her in the common culture of France, Germany, and other European nations. --

p. 130. "Government -- does not consist merely in the enforcement of law and order, but in the willing cooperation of the governed in observing the laws and in supporting their enforcement."

p. 192. "Dominion status is nationalism plus a sentiment, the sentiment being the expression of a common origin, common customs and a common literature and history."

p. 194. "In the past, and equally to-day, Great Britain's military responsibilities have been vast, in fact the whole of her military organization at home and abroad has been and is pivoted and shaped on the defence of and maintenance of internal security in India."

The Indian struggle is hopeful partly because the Br. are divided. The Br. traders want peace & would yield political power to India to get it. Against that are allied the Br. financial & army interests. The contest has not gone far enough to show up this split much yet. But clearly the Calcutta Europeans are for heavy repression while Bombay Europeans, traders, are against it.

or run the ground

So the Br. groups opposed to Govt
party ~~in~~ the P.L.P., the Br. linings,
Jamaica, Br. shipping, Br. traders in
Bombay, Br. ins. Co., & all those
who will heavily feel the boycott

This struggle being more prolonged
will affect Br finance and army more
than the first one did. The refusal
to pay taxes will increase burden of
Govt & necessity of Indian debts. So
also will the threat of partial ~~repudia-~~
tion ~~to~~ scaling down of Indian debt. The
army will fail morally as the
satyagrahis, and Govt finance will
fail to support the army. May be
mutinies even in Br. army. And
these factors will be a heavy blow
at all capitalism because so much

of the strength of capitalism depends on ability of armies to compel payment of taxes & loans of interest on govt bonds, and to ~~compel~~ levels tribes & thus ensure payment of profits in industry. The smashing of armies means the end of capitalism

If the Indian struggle goes on long enough it will end Britain politically, economically & morally, & do much the same to all W. civilization. Also during a prolonged struggle Indian farmers will be transformed & Khaddar will become a necessity for all Indians, even the well-to-do. Thus a new civilization & culture will develop

✓ In U V R book transfer to Ch II the statement of Doubts & drop that it has been effectively met by all sorts of pacts & actions etc. To answer S. Meaning's criticism in part.

God realization is a mode of creation in space & time world. ∴ Requires work & energy. ∴ is itself divine.

It is said that Gandhi cannot control the forces he has loosed. ~~But~~ And That is also true of militarism. ~~But~~ ~~to the extent~~ whatever extent it is not true of militarism is due to discipline. ∴ Discipline will control U. V. R. also.

Gandhi on discipline for U V R see D. Oct 1, 1931.

Struggle this time starts much more strongly than in April 1930. Right at the start there are tax refusals in Gujarat in at least 3 districts of U.P. and in Bengal

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Resisting a violence of any sort as not a sign of inability for self-govt. Of all countries of Europe & U.S. of Spain recently.

It may seem as if the cause of fear & anger were from the outside. But really it is mine, - a lack of realization that all is one, an illusion due to allowing myself to be imposed upon by the senses.

i. would it not be a sound part of all education to learn a lot of experience to

prove how completely each of our senses can be mistaken.

It is true that the Br. seem very strong in India with all their methods of coercion. But the real effect of all that on a people who have shed fear + got discipline + vigour, is a boomerang & ∴ a Br. weakness. The more terrible + unscrupulous the coercion, the greater the relief Br. lose.

Indian discipline + plans + preparation parallels that of the Br. Both sides realise that this is the final fight. Indian realisation of the implications is deeper & more far-reaching than the Br.

Bahai Books

"The Divine Art of Living" - Abdul Baha'
Compiled by Mary M. Rabbe
Foreword by Horace Holley - N.Y. Brentano's, 1926

"The Wisdom of Abdul Baha - The Bahai Publ. Com.
N.Y.C. 1924

"Some Answered Questions" trans from Persian of
Abdul-Baha by Laura Clifford Barney
Wegan Paul 1908

Tablets of Baha o'llah, trans by Ali Kuli Khan
Publ. by Bahai Publ Soc. Chicago 1917

Bahaism the Universal Religion by Hyppolyte Dreyfus
Bahai Publ Co. Chicago. 1919

Baha Ullah & the New Era - J. E. Esslemont
Allen & Unwin. 1923

Bahai Scriptures - ed by Horace Holley. Brentano's N.Y. 1923

Hidden Words of Baha Ullah Trans. by Shoghi Effendi
Publ. by Bahai Assembly. London 1923

The Spiritual Attainments of the Bahai Life - Bahai Publ Co. Chicago 117 West 57th St N.Y.C. .50

The Spiritual Life - " " " " 25¢

Wealth

Beauty of material possessions, under the present ~~re. regime~~, means moral regimes. ~~Yet~~ Yet to compel people to do without, except by moral means & force of struggle, is wrong, for it does not relieve the error at its source & only commits another kind of error. Example is the only way out.

Postponements at Versailles mean extension of the financial war which will help weaken England.

The use of poison gas in the VR was would lessen all contact between opponents & part of the physical contact. ∴ Would it do away.

Britain's pride of dominion over others will have to change to pride in a reformed moral self.

"Anything appreciated for its own sake destroys the money value." - Knapp Phenomena. Art - a value opposed to money.

~~Money as a universal~~

The function of money as a universal medium of exchange has got united with its function as a symbol of trust, and tended to make apparent trust of kind does further than one can actually trust.

Attachment to beautiful things is in part a form of weakness, a dependence on external sense impressions for awareness of harmony & unity.

Most farmers sell in a wholesale market and buy in a retail market. No wonder they lose.

The book "What would be the Climax of the Next War" proves that the world should submit to earth. ∴ go to Indian

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It is true that all the great religious teachers worked with their own people and did not go abroad. But also they were all in village civilisations. ∴ It is, do I want to be in a village civilisation or among my own people?

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Paulus Bapu's mistake or Brahmacharya is a negative aspect of his insistence upon immanence of all and of not making a distinction between his family and other people. Sex intercourse is a mode of expressing unity in a restricted way quantitatively, tho not restricted qualitatively or emotionally. It is on more than

the physical plane, - very physical, mental & moral natures. Of the astral or little control. 3. utterance is related to some stage of life

—

A low-grade moon child would not respond to any stimulus, not even shooting off a pistol near it. But it was discovered that the rustling together of two nut shells in the next room quickly roused it. ∴ We must often look for the subtle delicate stimuli, as they are more effective than the strong, violent or ordinary ones.

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In the London Spectator of July 4, 1931 there was an article from its correspondent in India saying that Congress is badly split. That may be true superficially, but it is only on the surface, - an indication of free energy. The

amend of N.C.O. & VR will unify all.
Cf. similar Br. mistake in The Round Table
of March, 1930

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The constant call of the Br. for Indian
good will is evidence of the failure of
Br. to act so as to create good will.
good will cannot be created by appeal.
It arises spontaneously from act.

—

New governor of Bengal, Sir John
Anderson was from 1920 joint under-
secy to the Govt. of Ireland.

—

London Sat. Rev. of Nov 28, 1931 has an
article on R.I.C. showing the Conservative
attitude.

Deporting Elwin from the W.F. will make many Englishmen suspicious of Gandhi. The showing out of Mitchell the U.S. missionary will lose England some U.S. church support, especially after Mitchell got them a talkie.

Any such organization is a Western scheme of values, common to both capitalism & socialism.

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Perhaps U.S.A. as well as France is engaged in financial war vs Gr. Br.

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Think out Young criticism in relation to Jamin's quote. Also invent a trap of taking up a weapon or scheme of values & being subject to it.

The law of organic growth not only means that a violent revolution will not bring freedom, but that you must use N.V. in order to get a free & happy society.

Put the item about large scale organization from end the of N.V. book into Class Struggle chap, & perhaps give a footnote making part of my pamphlet. Perhaps as my letter to Jonah Goldstein. Must not think that we have evolved the only possible forms of society. Socialism is not the only possible alternative to capitalism.

N.V.R. will end capitalism [illegible] because it prevents govt relying on heavy taxes. ∴ Knocks govt bonds, one of the big assurances of high finance. Also will reduce corporate profits because workers

will be able to ~~control~~ compel from defeatism

War and capitalism are both defeating in their revolution.

June 11 The Br. offering pay for women police in India will be taken there as a clear attempt to stir civil war, with much sentiment. It is an admission of the power of the women. Tagore's telegram to Macdonald is cautiously phrased, but he did not do that much in 1930. When an old man of his ~~pro~~ internationalist proclivities says that much, it shows what the frame of mind of younger & more nationalistic men must be.

The fact that America is so great a self-contained market gives her great

strength in Europe & England in the existing try of war. By enabling Europe to repudiate debts, if that is the policy, she is preventing Europe from borrowing from us in future without more security. If gold disappears as basis of world money, so much the better.

If England is secured and financially by France & U.S., & then Indian bonds drop & Br bankers call on govt for guaranteed payments, British govt will be up against it & may have to yield to India

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The chairman of the Indian com. to deal with Indian problems in S. Africa is this year a Moslem. Perhaps

what he sees them will lead to ~~like~~ more Indian troubles vs Britain & the Empire.

'Divide & Rule' comes home to roost. The separatist tendencies of the Empire are splitting the Cabinet. They are trying to keep a united front vs India and Europe & the U.S., but it is impossible. The silly attempt to hold together only serves to lower Macdonald's influence. Lloyd G is probably finding his time. Very soon the Conservatives will vote him in the middle, but the Tory opposition to them will soon be quite strong outside of Parl. Bye-elections must soon will register the turn of the tide. Conservative policy will serve to defeat the Empire vs

almost all fronts.

Last Saturday's dispute although of the Br Cabinet to hold together should be read in the light of Baldwins remark — Part of last year, that if Britain should ever politically split on the subject of India, nothing could prevent the loss of India to Britain. The fact that the predicted unity so nearly is broken is very hopeful for India. It shows how powerful already is the Br. opposition to the Joints Indian policy.

If the Govt tries to coerce the millowners & stop the shipment of cotton, then the country will be compelled to adopt Khadi. It is

quite possible that this may happen.

Gandhi's condition for partnership with Britain is that all exploitation shall cease. This would require abolition of capitalism in G.B. So no partnership is likely in our future.

Gandhi said that "Prison for him (the satyagrahi) is the gateway to freedom". Y.I. Apr. 16, 1931.

Y.I. Dec 3, 1931. Gandhi, speaking to women in Kingsley Hall London.

"I have a conviction in me that when England ceases to prey upon India she will also cease to prey upon other nations". — Yes, she will no longer have the material capacity to do so, for the

desire or will. This means that the freeing of India will dissolve the social structure & control of England.

Jan 20. The Moslem Kashmir trouble, if England sends in troops to defend the Rajah, she will offend the communist Moslems. If on the other hand, she does not do so, she will offend most of the Indian princes, for most of them are Hindus. So that makes a delightful mess for J.B.

The Indian government offering pensions for loyalty is ~~the~~ ending of a sort that will bring them only the lowest and most harmful (to them) of adherents. A significant confession of

moral bankruptcy.

Simple people like Indians can understand Br. violence + anger & still believe the Br. human. But if the Br. should use poison gas, the impersonal quality of it would seem wholly fiendish. It would cause a complete moral revulsion and refusal to cooperate or imitate. ∴ Br. values could no longer prevail & govern. Perhaps the use of poison gas by Western nations will ~~be the~~ be a potent cause of abandonment of present values & creating a better world, out of sheer horror of the old or perhaps by its self destruction.

Jan 28 ~~No doubt~~ Lord Irwin has said that he would have done the same as Willingdon. That will destroy in many Indian Liberals their last shred of faith in Br. decency. They have clung to Irwin as decent. That he approves of the atrocities cuts off much of the little cooperation with decent Indians. Sothian & Co will realise that the Indians who meet with them are entirely unprincipled, entirely selfish and greedy, and entirely ~~unthinking~~ following.

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29. Moslems may try to use this loyalty as a means of forcing off Br concessions. E.g. threat to go to Gandhi. African invasion of Kashmir may be a Congress agitation or a Moslem one, or both of Br Tommies in Kandi-

min or two to placate first one side & then the other, both will realize that they are being made used by G.B. for Boer ends only. ∴ Their loyalty will not lead them to take strong measures.

The present movement of refusal of taxes will not make its weight felt for perhaps six months. The weight of increased expenditure & decreased revenue will gather force steadily.

The more I consider it, the more important does the matter of spinning seem to be to create new values & herald up a new world.

How to escape any share of responsibility for ~~g~~ U.S. Govt's evil actions -

for industry = financial exploitation.
I must create myself. I do not
have self reliance for certain things
than I will be apt to share in a
system by which others are exploited.
∴ I should give a wage or do other
hard work. Also I must create
new values & live them. Must
have simplicity, as one of them &
give up attachment to things.

Christ & other religious leaders
speak much about giving, but, as
they did not live in complex societies,
they said little about
not taking away (& profiting on dealing)
while you give with the other.
must work that. Simplicity,
avoidance of many values & use so far as
possible will help here.

I could easily expand my pamphlet on Gandhism, into by going further into discussion of money, mentioning other controls & values (such as simplicity).

As a footnote to the last chap of NVR books meant the 5 vows of the Ashram, & applying to leaders, anyhow.
by J. Dec 31, 1934.

Also in J's Incumbents chap meant the explanation of the export of wax given in by J. Dec 31, 1931.

Began he said that in 1914 he reached the strength to oppose war in 1914. Was the strength given him by further understanding of Satyagraha & further thought, or by discovery of K to complete his new scheme of values & methods to create them? Before that he had religion, & Satyagraha, simplicity, Brahmacharya, and

so he could oppose the control of violence & money. But he had not worked out the implications of fundamentalism & control by word fetishes, nor all the economic independence side. It rounds it out. Nor had the true nature of the Empire been fully revealed then. So he was still in bondage to it & blinded by it, i.e. lacking in strength.

As soon as you get proud or place much value on anything but God, or get gods or attitudes, you weaken yourself.

J. Middleton Murry
The Old Rectory
Darking
Nr. Norwich
England

I must think on whether a boycott is force. Organized refusal is stronger than individual spontaneous refusal. When you take a hand, political motives complicate it. But if refusal is force, then persuasion is force. But persuasion is force only if it is untruthful. Lack of truth may be intentional lying, or failure to understand meaning, or sheer ignorance. Much of modern salesmanship is fraudulent. Especially when it has used gentle tariffs to mislead in its aims. Cf. India.

As capitalism decays the industrial workers gradually get to learned gradually that they have no right or energy for revolt. That is one reason why a peaceful evolution can come only in an agricultural

country where plenty is all around for food. A revolution can come only when there is a change of values, economic as well as social. This change must be kindled by the leaders to create it. Must be great simplicity. Gandhi's charkha is a very great thing in this connection.

The unity of mankind and is one corollary of "The Kingdom of God is within you".

Man clings desperately to some entity greater than himself, the State, the race, the city, the nation, God.

Dr. Ernst Jäckh

THERE is no longer any doubt that our generation is passing through a revolutionary period, that we are at the beginning of a new era. We see evidences of the birth of a new epoch on every side: in methods and in natural science, in politics and economics, in art and architecture.

The reaction, however, produced by such turning points is mostly one of complaint and dissatisfaction. The times are great and the people are small. It will be useful to pass on a citation I found in the German poet Jean Paul, who wrote the words at the beginning of the last century under the impression of the American Constitution, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars:

> The times are great, if not their people. Our time is not like the period which made and overthrew countries; it is unique because not countries, but three continents are tumultuously at work upon transformation and equalization, and the olive tree of peace cannot plant its roots in a garden, but only in the entire universe. The compass and the pen, the ships and the printing presses have eliminated the isolation of the nations, and all now stand conjoined on a scaling ladder and a Jacob's ladder. The movements, certainly, with which the centuries and continents decide, cannot be convenient to the egotist who prefers to envy the contemporaries of a great history from the reading desk rather than to belong to them. For this earth trembles differently from the aspen leaf when it removes mountains and brings forth islands. Whoever judges of the birth of the future according to his personal after-pains is like a warrior who estimates the fruit and the peace conclusion of a war according to his own wounds. He who is of a just and brave disposition must really be glad to help in an eventful time, either by suffering or by action.

Jan 31. Pt. Malaviya's letter to Viceroy shows reaction of best of India's intelligentsia. Also probably that of the best of Hindu Mahasabha. Viceroy will disregard it. ~~It's~~ The letter reflects a fine consciousness of Indian strength. Equivalent at the time. Also reveals anxiety perhaps of a moral evolution.

From Rockwell Kent's Bulfinch Book

tiful!"

"Beauty indeed!" snorted the other; "I'll see to it that you are properly humbled."

"Only the wise can taste humility," primly replied the good fairy. "And the premise to wisdom is a tender heart."

"But for all of that," croaked the bad one, "you shall fall into the very pit of despondency."

In the V.R. book, last chap, next time about creating new values.

The sending of Br troops to Kashmir will mean loss of Moslem support, especially if they shoot. If they do not do business, the Princes will be offended. That may not count much at present, because Sir Tom would like to knock up federation anyhow, but the day will come when the mislead of the Rajputs will injure Br.

In June 16, 1932 of Saturday Review (London) is an article by Rene Grousset in which he says we should not try to instil knowledge into the child or try to know how his thought & feeling move. Should only kindly supply the child with material upon which to act creatively & freely. Then the child educates itself by

activity. That is the only true education the thinks; & she says her method has produced very fine results.
So original as to be called precocious, self-reliant, inquiring, keen, & intelligent. Also kind & peaceful.

My N.V.R. book might be classed by the Br as affording them a means of saving their face, — a recognition, "of course all sensible people recognised that it was so"; & calling the phenomena recognisable because put in familiar terms. It might even be taken up strongly by decent Br & play a part in their change of heart & result in a real conversion to N.V.R. It would certainly be sound policy for them.

In the Montessori article above cited

the says ^ [the plan of] education is much more than stimulating child's curiosity. Even after child's desire for information is roused it proceeds to act & create, — to grow by action. We can only supply stuff then periphery of its consciousness & should never attempt to penetrate to the centre. To do that is to lack respect for the child's personal integrity

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I KVR will work as others besides the noble & tender hearted Burton. ~~Count~~ Ch Jenghis Khan; accustomed to ^ ruled, destroy & cringe on ^, no longer expects. But if he did he would rule only by terror. The sight of complete courage would astound

& save him. A Jap would be moved by boycott & baffled by absolute refusal to cooperate in court, — just as much as a European. A Moslem or such as Afghans would feel the religious appeal & the uniting effect. A Russian would feel the Revolutionary values of the thing.

Truth is evolved in NVR partly by the very process itself. A social purification & cleansing. The self-mastering discipline, the getting rid of bad habits, the discipline, the learning to struggle without anger, the mind unity developed, the desire for a ~~better~~ best solution in accordance with the truth, Douglas this further and put in 2d mil. chap.

Re W V R book, Norman brought out point that Gandhi has worked out a new social meaning for such elements in the old individual Indian religious disciplines as austerity, self-sacrifice, penance, self-mortification, truth seeking, suffering. (p 85)

Insert in 1st Phil Chap that one reason for taking phil of ethics is because W.V.R. is a deeper matter than mere outer action. But So is more deeper than mere outer action

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There are elements in Indian situation as compared with the Irish, which may shorten the conflict to less than 3 years.

The fact that t.b. is especially hard on and liable to attack pregnant women is another indication that it is a calcium deficiency disease.

In step on individual use of W.V.R.
must idea that child should be trained to
such idea too. It is to be noted that
Jawaharlal has in part adopted my position,
because my Indian woman a child is now
open to violence. No guardian for them. But
it is for a national ideal + struggle.

In psychol. step on whole takes place,
must the creation of new values, by the
power + conviction of the W.V.R.

In a shifting the "How is it Possible"
step., perhaps shift the country It +
other + leaving, + depending on idea of
divisive emotions and put them
into the step.

In the terrified of W in step. other

The H. is American use of the defensive, to comply with B W Sidehead Hart or Marshall Foch.

Feb. 9. For M. de Jight to make as part of his "minimum" "demand" of Gandhi that the latter should feel "responsible not only for India's future but for the future of all mankind" makes me wonder as to the extent of de Ligt's responsibility. I suspect this is an irresponsible and unpremised intellectual who is envious of Gandhi's power & strength & uses the charge of monistism as a means of opening his dislike and resentment.

Perhaps the attitude of courage — the psychological residue of a long period of animal & human life in which fear & anger were the valid

stimuli + releasers of energy

Most great religions, a religion movement have started as protests; E.g. Buddhism, Sikhism, Mohammedanism, Christianity, Taoism.

In my NVR book the Chap on Gandhi was the end adds a personal application that adds interest + vividness + practicality to the book + drags it down from regions of abstraction. The Hygiene chap. helps to make it concrete, too.

Re imagination in Scott Buchanan's book on possibilities. See also his article in recent number of Psyche.

~~Western~~ Occidentals so much talk one thing + do the opposite + kid themselves

along. a sort of mentality & hypocrisy.
Perhaps partly because dealing with life
so much through symbols, - money & printed
words, & parliaments, - they have it all
second-hand. E.g. ~~You~~ to talk about
"simplicity" that many people of great
wealth get off

If Swadeshi means that one's
primary duty is to serve one's
neighbor, then that ties up with
my theory of creating trust.

Tagores statement to Indian people
which ~~has~~ sent to London Spectator shows
a great strength & confidence in ability to
conquer England & a firm turning
away from Br. political ideals. ~~to it~~
Together with Mahavir's letter to

rivers, these statements show a self-
esteem, strength & reputation of England
by all the better Indians aside from
the Congress party or politicians. That
will solidify us.

The failure of peace moves in Europe
shows how imagination defeats itself.

The cry of Americans, liberals &
marching, etc. - "how can I help it"
proceeds from too great a desire for fruit
of works, for results. Also from an
unwillingness to sacrifice self & one's own
comfort. Each should live his own
small life right & leave the rest to God.

In last chap. of N.H. Proph. we sometimes must
speed a bit. Necessity for simplicity

a reconsideration of values & of ways of living

Talk about the necessity in commercial life for an outside ~~arb~~ ("neutral") arbitrator to settle disputes common that we cannot change the greed & selfishness of the parties. It makes no attempt to do so ∴ It is no sound ~~attempt~~ ∴ An internatl police force would count would be n.g. ordinary law courts n.g. for that purpose. Courts probably exist more to support govt than to give justice

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Reorganise last chap in my book & cut out reference in it to Mrs Hinsdale.

"Poems and the Spring of Joy" by Mary Webb - Index by W. de la Mare. E. P. Dutton 1929

"Youth is not defined by years but by the readiness impulse to make something. The aged are those who, before all other things, desire not to make a mistake." - A. N. Whitehead in "The Aims of Education"

The Br in India are testing out the policy of repression with one hand and offering a scheme of government to India with the other. It is repressive to Br. practice abroad and in India. What is offered is too slight compared with the severity of the repression and the consequent pull of sympathy towards the Congress. Also the repression is not against mere disorder or political offence. It applies to the economic struggle too. It will not work

By temporarily supporting Japan instead of the U.S. the Br. Govt may perhaps weekend its "Commonwealth of Nations", & the results will be seen next summer at Ottawa, unless the Russian explanation is right.

The row in Washington will affect the State R.T.C. Committee from England & make the Princes hesitate about Federation. The refusals will bother the Finance R.T.C. Committee.
These Committees are stop gaps to blind people while the question of who has real power is being settled — Gandhi & Jr. Br. Parliament will not draft any act ~~the~~ while that is settled. They got caught on that in Ireland, & will not repeat.

The Br. idea about following out their announced policy, "unflinchingly", "unwaveringly", "unfalteringly", "inflexibly", is all so stupid.

Proletarian action will not save the world. A new set of values which proletarians will follow will do it. India is the only nation with such a set of values. Not China nor Prussia nor U.S. nor France.

The cooperation of some Indians now w. Br. is partly to buy their jobs & partly because of fear of revolution.

The Br. sending troops to Palestine means angering Moslems who have been

one. Bx. Beating 14 yr old boy. Cf "Baby Killer"

To be pure - to seek God only. To be impure is to seek things other than God. ∴ To be impure is to be greedy, to be egoistic; proud + sensual. This idea means that if we are for purity we must seek to find + to love God in everyone + matter of dirty.

Macleod thinks we will have fascism in U.S. in 1 yr or 18 months.

Seeking the truth in Satyagraha means seeking new values.

Probably the courage required by N.V.R. requires real faith in God for its basis.

In last chap of "VR book mention the dangers to the individual? He not offer. Also the line on heroism by the Arctic explorer. Gandhi's moral revival — not a mere saving of his own skin. If adopted widely it would have ended all discussion of mod[ern] conditions of Br rule, impossible for them. Br. would have seen they could not go on on a really united country.

—

With Gandhi the boycott is not mere refusal or coercion, He is using it in attempting to build up a new economic system, different from that of England, based on rural economy & village life. & Finally the true communism, — which the Soviets claim to be aiming at. ∴ It is a change of values

Roger B's idea that not a mere stunt
+ isolated demonstration attract attention
+ get results - only partly true
If wholly non-violent + the avoided purpose is clear
cut at, O.K. But violence by the
demonstrators - e.g. must not
cause public fear even by suggestion.
if possible

Is war sometimes get very large +
produces rule, private morality +
very perfect means are dangerous.

Perhaps Bandonini's case of reversed
effort - a imagination & will - is a
reason vs. taking vows.

In sex intercourse it is wiser to direct the

emotion toward realizing that one's feeling
are a mode of realizing unity with an
experience and spirit common to all
mankind, rather than thinking how
wonderful the other partner is as an
individual. If this were done mercifully
it would help to solve the present apparent
contradiction between marriage and union
of the publics.

The Village organization. Without an
enlarged social consciousness you cannot
carry on machinery & industrialism
successfully. I may whether I want
an enlarged consciousness. Probably they are, but perhaps
defectively.

People to whom to send my book on U V R.

Head of Moravians.
Stephen Cabot
President of Boston College
Joseph Lee, Secy War Root,
Korean Church + Institute, 633 West 115 st.
A. K. Coomaraswamy, D.J. Mukerji
X in Indian Church.
Sarda Swin + Sabhan, Archbishop of Canterbury,
J P. Jones, B. Russell, D.L.P. man, Josiah
Wedgewood, H.J. Laski, Horace G. Alexander & Br. Friend.
Mrs. Arthur Sherman, Upton Sinclair, John
Dewey, Lucy Wing, Mrs. Coonley,
Heywood Broun, Lord Sankey, Lord
Negley Farson, Edmund Eddy, A.J. White,
Lewis

Aim at the morale of the Br. Command, civil + military
(Col. Fuller, Capt Hart, Commander in Chief in India, Viceroy (?), Mr.
Stanley Baldwin, Churchill, Lord Sankey, MacDonald, W. Benn, J Wedgwood,
Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishops of York, Durham, Winchester, Birmingham,
Editors of leading journals,

Groups that would be interested, Quakers, Moravians,
7th Day Adventists, Christian Scientists, all denominations of
churches, heads of Catholic ~~churches~~ dioceses + ministries, Bahaists,
Rotarians, Womens societies, Peace societies + Leagues, F.O.R.,
Similar groups in Gr. Br., ~~F.O.R.~~ International War Resisters Leagues,
Student organizations, ymca, ywca., Jewish organizations

To call an organization "responsible" means that you can rely on it to act in the way you like, - the way that seems to supports your status, - at least the - the meaning of most pro-Soviet communists.

To "deplore" an event means that you are afraid it will show up the inconsistencies or inconsistencies of your beliefs or of the institutions you support

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Feb 19 Putting together the stories in N.Y. Times + last night's Monitor, I gather that the release of 1200 Red Shirts in W.F. is to placate the Moslems, perhaps because of events, also in Pakistan. But this release will be followed by a demand by Hindus for a release of 1200 Hindus

prisoners a feeling that Jinnah is only playing communalist game. That will not be granted, so a loss of support for Jinnah among Hindus.

I suspect none of appt of Englishmen as prime minister in Pakistan will make either Prime very sloppy & subservient toward Jinnah.

The article in Far Eastern Quarterly & Far Contemporary show how worried & divided the Brs are in England, outside of Jinnah circle myself. The decision of year ago in Indian business men & the swelling the powers of Indian women are significant.

The weakening of Br power in Japan will have its repercussions in India, both among Moslems & Hindus.

The next 3 years may see India & China both winning completely on the West. ½ the world's population. Together with Russia & slowing in Africa etc that would be a big shift.

If Japan is supported by France it is interesting to note that China troops are trained by Germans.

The Cabinet reached 2 Constitutional precedents (1) forming Nat'l Govt (2) ending joint Cabinet responsibility on grounds of more important external functions. India was mentioned as one. This connects with what Stanley Baldwin said in H of C in 1931 that if the 3 Br. parties split on India the control of India was gone to

the breaking of 2 such precedents in order to keep united front on India, some others show how slow they are to dismiss & how near they are to loss of India.

Perhaps my N.V.R. books will help in the report of the need for India, & understanding of his ideas & actions, that is more important than for India to weaken Br. money power. I-I- made the effort of my book on Mr. Gandhi, shown by his work & life in his

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Under frightfulness proves to be an immediate & overwhelming success, it is the worst sort of boomerang.

N. V. R. will solve the problems of minorities.

The ~~sabo~~ moving to de Valera in Ireland will have results at Ottawa next summer. Ireland will at least be a thorn in Britain's side, & will weaken her.

Figs The news that Moslems passed the buck to England to settle the minorities question shows that Moslems aren't trying hard to help Cyr. Sz. The unpopularity of imposing a division will hurt Cyr Sz. Probably it will lose much Hindu support. Japan's reported anger looks unfortunate for Cyr Sz.

Quotations from "The Real War" by B. H. Liddell Hart - Faber & Faber Ltd - London 1930, Little & Brown, Boston.

p. 59. "Several German critics had decided from experience the reality of battle-morale as shown in 1870, and had deduced how tactics should be based on the ever-present and balancing elements of fear and courage. At the close of the century a French military thinker, Colonel Foch, had demonstrated how great was the influence of the moral element in the higher sphere of command, although his teaching was concerned rather with fortifying the will of the commander than with infringing the will of the opponent. .... In the opening weeks of the conflict a general misunderstanding of national psychology was to be shown in the struggling

of the War - in Britain the monopoly of Kitchener, followed by the equally stupid practice of issuing communiqués which so veiled the truth that public opinion became distrustful of all official news and rumour was bound to be infinitely more damaging. The true value of truly calculated publicity and the true application of the propaganda weapon was only to be learnt after many blunders.

p. 337 "Military power is based on economic endurance." -- "As the submarine was primarily an economic weapon, so was the aeroplane primarily a psychological weapon."

(Re propaganda)

p. 344 "In January 1918 there was, indeed, a significant attempt at popular revolt, when over a million German workers joined in a general strike, but this was soon quelled and soon forgotten in the frank exhilaration of the great offensive. Only when

the military machine itself began to crumble
could the slaves of the machine free
themselves from the grip, a propaganda
help them in loosening it. Perhaps only
then did an active will to peace reinforce
then mere passive weariness of war. The
inner strength of militant patriotism lies
in the fact that it is not merely a gag
but a drug.

pp. 406-7 "The combined pressure of the
Allied armies, and their steady advance
were loosening the will power of the German
government and people. The conviction of
ultimate defeat, down to appeal to them
than to the army chiefs, was the more
forcible when it was enlarged. And the
indirect moral effect of military and
economic pressure was accentuated by
the direct effect of peace propaganda,

skilfully directed and extensively waged by Northcliffe. the 'home front' began to crumble later, but it crumbled ~~possibly~~ quicker than the battle front ::

p. 409. - :: the turning of the German people against the leaders who had led them into disaster ::

p. 417. (Re Hay) --- :: he seems to have understood the infinite value of empire, which for three thousand years of recorded warfare has proved the water-key to victory ::

p. 418 - :: T. Sidebotham: admit he realised that the obvious + no obstacle that empire might encounter cannot conquer, and one realised, can only overcome. and he ought to effort and develop empire by a compound of many disruptive elements ::

p. 426 - -- :: that fundamental axiom of war - elasticity ::

427. "He (Ludendorff) could not realize that in strategy the longest way round is often the shortest way there - that a direct approach to the object exhausts the attacker and hardens the resistance by compression, whereas an indirect approach lessens the defender's hold by upsetting his balance."

p. 429 "As hope of military success fades and with them the hope of again nourishing their stomachs, and soul, on the enemy's supplies, a mood set sets in rapidly. Anyone with personal experience of war knows how the thought of food and of civilized comfort fills the soldier's horizon. ... But when the Germans broke through the Russian lines and into the back-areas, the temptation was exhausted by them. In the

coloured conduct, penetrating alongside the
surface of military statistics and accounts
is the psychological foundation, then is
that the British disaster of March, 1918, was a
stroke of fortune for those who suffered it?"

p. 463. "Destruction also is an essential
~~element~~ component of success".

p. 465 "a fourth cause of the stoppage
was inherent in the form of the attack.
For being strictly frontal, the more
it pushed back the enemy the more
it consolidated their resistance. This
is always the defect of a frontal attack
when an organized force can be
pushed through and placed on the
enemy's rear.

p. 466 "Thus, in war, the decisiveness
of August 8th came from the disloca-
tion of thought or will, or both,

throughout the whole hierarchy of the German Command. The history of 1914-1918 exploded the experience of all history that, except against an exhausted or already demoralized foe, decisive success in war is only possible through surprise. And that surprise must be a compound of many subtle ingredients.

P. 489. "Duality of objective, of which Schemm was the supreme exponent, enables the attacker to get his opponent on the horns of a dilemma, and by multiplying him, to obtain the chance of surprising him, so that if the opponent concentrates in defence of one objective the attacker can seize the other. Only by this elasticity of aim can we truly attain ourselves

to the uncertainty of war.

p. 503 "~~Hopelessness~~" Helplessness induces hopelessness, and history teaches that loss of hope and not loss of lives is what decides the issue of war. No historian would underrate the direct effect of the semi-starvation of the German people in causing the final collapse of the 'home-front'. But leaving aside the question of how far the revolution caused the military defeat, instead of vice versa, — the intangible, all-pervading factor of the blockade intrudes into every consideration of the military situation.

p. 506. --- "Rather does the record of the last 'hundred days', when thoroughly sifted, confirm the immemorial lesson of history — that the true aim in war

is the mind of the enemy command and government not the bodies of their troops, that the ordinary business of victory and defeat turns on mental impressions and only indirectly on physical blows. That is why, as Napoleon said and Foch endorsed, 'it is the man, not men, who counts'.

"The attention of this great truth is to be found in the main text where, apart from the timeless and universal theme of the tide-turning battle on the Marne in July, Sudendorf was still planning and preparing fresh offensives thereafter. If he was chagrined, he does not appear to have been so disillusioned as he had been after his own outwardly successful attack on the Lys in April.

" But the Fourth Army empire attack
before Amiens on August 8th was a
shattering moral blow. Prince Rupp
put August 8th in its true light
psychologically, when he defined it as
the 'turning point'. Even so, to
develop the conviction of failure into the
conviction of hopelessness required to
compel surrender, something more was
needed. It came not from the Western
Front, but from a despised 'side-show' -
Salonika, long condemned by Allied
military opinion and scornfully ridiculed
by the Germans as their 'largest intern-
ment camp'. With Bulgaria's collapse
the back gate to Austria, as well as to
Turkey, and through Austria to Germany,
lay open.

The immediate news of the war

was decided on September 29th, dawned in the mind of the German Command. Ludendorff and his associates had then 'cracked', and the sound went echoing backwards until it had resounded throughout the whole of Germany. Nothing could catch it or stop it. The Command might renew its nerve, the actual military position might improve, but the moral impression, as ever in war, was decisive.

"Yet, let us once again emphasize that the fundamental causes of the decision are more various than the acts which immediately produced it.

"The truth is that no one cause, man, or event, decisive. The Western Front, the Balkan Front, the tank, the blockade and propa-

ganda have all been claimed as the cause of victory. All claims are justified, none wholly right, although the blockade ranks first and began first. In this warfare between nations victory is a cumulative effect, to which all weapons — military, economic, and psychological — contribute. Victory comes, and can only come, through the utilization and combination of all the resources existing in a modern nation, and the dividend of success depends on the way in which these manifold activities are coordinated." [see also p. 84]

Lord Keynes's article about a Russian friendly show amplification & hopefulness on his part. Others follow him.

The fact that Gandhi makes so many moves that wholly surprise the Br., & that they do not understand him, gives him immense strategic and tactical advantage over them. His politics are so much deeper and more original than theirs.

The Br. attack on Congress is direct & therefore means the victory by compromise.

No exhilaration in fighting against a passive enemy.

(Continued from Hunt's book supra) -- p. 505. "It was the kernel of essential truth upon the trigger issues which was digested by the German people and, by leading them to question both the honesty of their

NB Hitler in India

leadership and the hope of success, weakened the will to continued resistance. ... "When German arms were temporarily in the ascendant moderation was forgotten in exultation, even among the more liberal-minded, revealing that intoxication of spirit which, more fundamentally than any ill-intention, was responsible for Germany's war guilt"

p. 460. "The exploitation of an enemy's moral disintegration is fundamentally an offensive purpose."

N.V.R. may be a means of acquiring a greatly enlarged, intensified and more sensitive social consciousness. — p. 52

—

Time that Christ and Reader unto

Even the things that are Caesar's, but my mind, will and conscience are not Caesar's, nor is my life Caesar's.

Christianity as crucified is so full of pride in relation to other religions, & so full of racial pride, that it is fatally weak.

Great simplicity of living is a preventer of self righteousness & helps to keep one humble.

Probably the success of Y.M.C.A. in a foreign land will tend to create such national units as are homogenious & natural, & a greater decentralization of great empires.

Feb 29. It is quite possible that the
feeling of relief in Br. finance is
due to the appointment of Mellon as
ambassador to England. New Britain
is sure of being able to use U.S.
money to support ~~the~~ £. Having
Br. Treasury as "adviser" to Bank of
England is a mode of floating of
the U.S. or a source of strength to
of Br. NO. There is no French or German
adviser to the Bank of England.

In so far as the export of gold from
India impoverishes the people of that
country & renders difficult the payment
of taxes, it increases the probabilities of
a social revolution. Meanwhile, if it
helps England, the world is learning
of the fact and judging England

accordingly. It will pile up more shame for England later & help to shut Englishmen's mouths in attempted self-defence. India is not raising to harm England, & if the victory can be won without economically harming England too much, that is all to the good,

Prof. Romain tells me that Buddhist monastics developed only after Buddhism became a state religion (Ashoka) & then the monks could live in idleness supported by the money of the State (? Rbq. — untouchable) wrung by force from the poor. Similarly Jain monks were very cruel in their wars and ~~private~~ violence. Association of any religion with the State

corrupt & ruins the religion.

When any faith becomes a creed, it is ruined. He fears that Buddhism will become a creed in India later. (Cf. Bauddha stanza notes). It is like Buddha's analogy of the raft. The raft (faith) is used to carry one from danger over the river to safety. Then ~~don't~~ abandon it — its task is accomplished. To treat it as a creed is like carrying the raft always upon one's head after land has been reached.

Rosenberg quoted Buddha as saying "you do not get angry with the stick with which a man beats you, but at the man. But the man is only an instrument, impelled by anger. ∴ get angry with anger!

~~with~~ with anything. He said that Buddha said "Idleness & ~~carelessness~~ lack of care is death".

He said that the passages in the Bhagavad Gita urging to fight were written in order to support the State, i.e. violence a confusion of ideas. It was written in 5th century by a man anxious to support the state.

He said that the passages in Book Two of Bh. G. (slokas 62 ff.) are pure Buddhist thought. But they are wrongly translated by Mrs. Besant & Edwin Arnold. They should read "If a man contemplates on objects of

same - happiness

Then comes (kama) love full of delight, passionate love

From kama comes ~~desire~~ anger

From anger comes confusion (of mind)
From confusion comes loss of presence of mind (serene discerning point)
From loss of presence of mind comes loss of reasoning power (madness).

[P usually the idea of attachment in Arnold's translation was to me to yield [illegible] part of the idea into English better.]

Rosenthal says that the idea of value of work is a fine American ideal. Should be work for humanity.

Rosenthal says that Gandhi adopted for himself the Arhum 4 Jain principles —

1. Ahimsa
2. Truth
3. non-stealing
4. non-possession.

Also he (R) says that no one can fully understand or do ahimsa until he lives non-possession.

A "creed" means standardisation of belief, determining a man's mode of Sadhana by outer demands; systematism; large scale organized religion; churches. When creed comes, true religion is dead.

If I find it hard to evoke God in myself, so also will it be hard for me to evoke Him in others. Begin with myself. The response will come from others when I show divine traits in my own actions over a long enough time. I must do it in myself by showing trust (faith) in God. Similarly, regarding all calling out God in others.

If my N.V.R. book get published and makes the Br. see the strength and unshakableness of N.V.R., they or their upper command will have hope of holding India.

If Khadi was invented in order to make the final link in H.V.R. (aiming to support the State indirectly thru the taxes on imported mill cloth), that shows why Bapu insists on "the constructive program" so strongly as a preparation and discipline for H.V.R.

Bombay Chronicle of Dec 28, 1931 reports an interview with Subash Chandra Bose at Sholapur in which he said, "these Ordinances may give rise to a feeling of restlessness and impatience among the people, but it will be the task of the Congress to prevent any diversion of public energy along unhealthy channels. If a movement is launched by the Congress as a reply to the challenge of the Government as given in the Ordinance it will be possible to keep the

movement within the limits of non-violence."

The man who adopts N.S.R. as his belief & aim it is bringing to his aid, & the strongest moral & spiritual force in the world. ~~In the process~~

In the process of social change N.V.R. comes along the front of the old while building something new & vital fires. Hence it should win more support from conservatives than most proposals for change.

The Englishman's idea of Dominion Status, is one in which the control of social flattery & political will have least possible play. But — there is no moral validity between England & India there can be

no Dominion Status, or if I can attempted
I would break.

Prof Coomaraswamy does not understand Gandhi's attitude of apparent trust towards England & thinks it weakness. Also he overestimates the power of will-power in the Congress over Gandhi. He is after all an intellectual

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A group settlement experiment requires all it to be held by the State. Probably all big machinery should be held by the State but I would put a limit on the unit of such machinery and limit the unit of it to be held by the individual instead of saying there shall be no private ~~ownership~~ ownership. Very handy by any means? Not effective probably right or I cant.

Britain paying off her debts with Indian gold will make Indian finances more easy now.

In writing try to use adjectives & adverbs that connote sensory effect instead of abstract idea ± e.g. pungently, caustically, smart, glittering, piercing, gliding, soft, delicious, loud, clattering, explosive, dying. Adds smoothness & concreteness.

Perhaps voluntary suffering proves or at least strongly supports the power of love for one's opponent as well as respect for his personality.

Friends reign from Br. Calcutt in April - budget time - that will open the door for a growing cleavage - Indian

policy

—

Nov 8. The news today & yesterday of the Moslems beginning to protest Nippon shops — a big advance. Also the threat to non-cooperate with R.T.C. If Govt does not apply the ordinance to Moslems the Moslem Hindus will withdraw their support. And if Ordinance are applied, the common suffering will unite Moslems to the Congress, leaving only a handful of irreconcilables. As in Turkey, Nationalism will prove stronger than Islam. Also the P[illegible] are withdrawing more to their shells. Also news of Nationalism stirring in Arabia & Syria.

Stagnation is proving it unfitting power.

—

The fundamental unity of mankind — the great moral truth. N.V.R. is a holding to this

truth. Violence = violation of this truth. Hence violence = = form of untruth, and falsehood and fraud may be considered forms of moral violence. (Satyagraha) (the truth) shall make you free. Greed is untruth. Infra possession = untruth.

To end money interest one should get rid of the old idea of gratitude. The two are allied, perhaps.

When indicting on human unity, begin at home & in the neighborhood. Don't confine it to untruth's offices.

If the British drain a big lot of gold out of India, it will perhaps make it easier for them to resign India; will reduce the difference in wealth between different Indians; and will tend to

decrease reliance on money.

Britain will get discouraged before India gets full unity. Perhaps Br may by another confab, but to get it they would have to yield more than they did on the Ind issue, because India would not trust Wellington as much as Irwin nor the Tories as much as Labor in England. So to win would take England would have to murder much more prestige. Congress would be stronger and have more opportunities to gather strength during the time. Wellington is dignified than Irwin.

Britain would not be so opposed to US in China if she did not know that Canada is more opposed to US than she was in 1920.

From my use Japan to defeat Br a

China Japan would be willing. Then Br. would have lost both China trade & U.S. friendship & India.

June 4 The sudden rise in sterling will reduce shipments of gold from India, reduce Br. advantage in foreign trade & perhaps make possible for Fr. to get another hold on Br. finance, preparatory to Germany.

Certain religious & meditative experiences which lead to acute sensing of the presence of God or reality of principles beyond space & time would help. We are in the sky attitude. It is balance between faith & work, transcendence & immanence.

Science, reading, & method &

them? The pendulum will swing back. And now, as in the sixteenth century, certain words written by Paracelsus are valid:

> Woman, as such, represents the will (love and desire), and man, as such, represents reason (the imagination, logic and speculation). Woman represents the body, man the spirit. Man imagines, woman executes—man creates images, woman makes these images substantial. Man without woman is like a wandering spirit, a shadow without substance, seeking to embody itself in a corporeal form; woman is like a flower, a bud opening in the light of the sun; but sinking into darkness when man, her light, departs.

Holmes's liberalism is scientific, not religious, inspired by a faith in life and man, not by disgust with things as they are. "The truth to me," he says, "is what I can't help but believe; but I do not suppose that my can't-helps are compulsory for the universe." And again, in a remark which is one of the classics of American legal literature (strike out the word legal if you will): "The best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the market. . . . That, at any rate, is the theory of our Constitution. It is an experiment, as all life is an experiment."

Out Today

"The Mahdi of Allah: the S[illegible]

... the principle of cooperation in industry. It was his hope, however, that newspapers would never strive for the mere production of public opinion.

LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM

SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH responded to the toast of "Literature," proposed by SIR ALFRED ROBBINS. One of the reasons, he said, why he prized his post of Professor of Literature at Cambridge was that it gave him the training of young men who were going to make their name in Fleet-street. There was a danger in the common path of literature and journalism. As for books, one had no real fear of what a Home Secretary or a Custom House official could do, but there was a worse danger. Rich men and syndicates of rich men could be crueller than kings and less responsible. With a constitutional monarch they knew where they were, but it was not necessary for a rich man to acknowledge any responsibility. Yet if he owned a newspaper his responsibility was just the same as those present and of himself—to tell the news and comment on it, and to do both separately in their right places. He had no doubt they knew there were certain rich men to whom he alluded, and he had no doubt those men were just as honest as were those present and that they really believed that they had a mission to impose their opinions on the public by what means they could command.

But the older he grew the more convinced he grew that there was only one possible permissible intellectual force, and that was persuasion, and that if they suppressed any man's opinion in any way it was tyranny. To suppress opinion was no service to the Commonwealth, and he really thought that if some of these men would reflect and think that there were men who had lost their bread and been turned into the streets because they insisted on expressing their convictions, they would not sleep so easily at night.

LADY DUNEDIN acknowledged the toast of [illegible]

When the Tn. people make up their loss of India they will doubt the morality of their rulers as well as their ability. Will abandon them just as years after defeat abandoned the leaders who had led them into disaster. That will be the opportunity for the I.L.P.

The leaders of a N.V. State would not be men seeking for power or privilege, but men & women repentant to the common will -

fare and willing to suffer in their own persons for its attainment.

The Br. Govt, by its workers in India, is acting as recruiting sergeant for the N.V.R. army

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One, when of values is fully accepted, they seem not only superior but almost unattainable. The holders look down on others as uncivilized, backward, etc. The process of working out a system of values seems to them engaged in it as the march of civilization.

But in my pamphlet mission N V R book we point a clear way out, that the method is more important than a set plan of society. Do not need

a rigid law of life where to guide by.
We can't get them off + directed +
thwarted by class drives because the
very method itself prevents both
fund + violence. A Communism
can't grow up or exist in a N V
State. N.V.R. program tends,
inevitably to a decentralized govt +
form of association, - loosely integrated
by moral codes rather than by
rigid organized obligations.
Bryn has a partial idea of Govt
already, based on old Hindu
forms, - castes, chambers, gradum-
enthy, agricultural, etc

~~The aesthetic part of religion~~

Sammy Marin my law is only
for those who do not know how to

the use of themselves otherwise. ∴ The ~~rich~~ rulers & upper crust are free of law. He says he is contemptuous of those who obey the law, - only the middle class fools do that, he thinks.

—

Symbols are an inchoate kind of language & ∴ very important. - use in their organizations - convey emotions & unconscious meanings & associations.

—

The aesthetic part of religious services may help many people who are hurt & feel helpless because of the contrast between what they know is right and the evils of their environment. The religious symbolism acts as an escape and anodyne & consciousness

"Contrast of 1931: Mobility or Stagnation" by Capt B H. Liddell Hart.
The Army Quarterly, Jan. 1932

Interesting articles in Psyche,
Oct 1931: —
Scott Buchanan — "The Reification of Projective Geometry".
Ursula Hoyt McConnell — "Symbolism as a Mental Power."

— —

Jean Harris said that money is dangerous only if private ownership is allowed. — Re my pamphlet.

—

U S v Russia as political diseases.

—

Perhaps my idea re size & centralization of organization, when related with

machinery & industry, would answer Rogers & Manning's objections to my pamphlet. Also insert a interest on money.

—

The fact that Lord Thought does was not asked to give security until Jan 23 1736, & January was not counted until Jan 25 means that my pamphlet has had 3 months sale my loss. Perhaps my 12 books is published, & perhaps not

—

The spread of ordinary Indian & extra ordinary police will mean such indiscriminate application for so long that it will act as a hindrance and alienate many moderates & loyalists, leaving only such utterly pro-Boer ones, reactionaries, self-seekers & cowards & showing them up so much, that they cannot have any follow-

ing & even the Br. official will be disgusted with them. A great wave of anti Br. feeling will sweep the country.

Indian Moderates & Muslim cooperation are both selfish & mutually hostile & exploiters. ∴ Cannot agree enough to work any constitution jointly. ∴ Civil repression is kept up & you, what good will it do? Probably the hope is that Gandhi will die or become feeble by then. But I think Br. will grow weak by sooner.

The fact that many (sentences &) ordinances are for 3 months may be significant. Either that Br. hope to reach compromise by then; or are doing their thinking by instalments; or want to be free to make changes then.

—

"Since most treaties are exploited by force & founded, written upon the sanctity of treaties were written upon the sanctity of force". L. L. Woodward (Jr. Org.)

The use of Indian gold to pay Br. debts prevents Br. from making certain reforms & gives her a false sense of strength.

Just as I say this ~~applies~~ applies X's advice & prayer, so that same idea applies to goodness of conduct as an adverse implication of a good end — means and end are one.

N V R develops the power of effective joint political action.

Gandhi doesn't read as much

to them all the affirmative program of N V R because he had already the old culture of Hindu to take the place of Br. culture. Not so in this country.

A completely integrated person lives entirely in the present, living actively in all its meaning as possible. This does not necessarily mean that any person who lives entirely in the present is completely integrated.

Britain cannot be definite at Ottawa because she cannot be certain about India. So cannot make commitments ∴ Ottawa will fail and Br. Empire will slump.

What Br. gives or does not give

to Burma in reality, may have an effect on Indian students

Lord. Look on the struggle for existence and is mistaken, & grow out of forgetting that our bodies are only temporary clothing built up by the soul for the use of duty & other souls. As soon as we realize that we may give our bodies for others to build & use, as a gift & not in terror or fear, this is what ecology may teach us. Think of how each organism in a forest helps the others & furnishes the mineral for others (all life) & exist upon. A real vision of unity thus would dread of death and give meaning to life. Do & Right style of life by contact around him to us.

) owe the idea of my book on
VK to a soldier – the reader of
that article on strategy in the
Indian military journal I saw – a
dark bungalow on Kolpak road

Rosenthal points out that VK
is a struggle against the civilian
population from utter devastation &
large life giving

If work is expending energy &
resistance, then voluntary suffering is
this also. Even involuntary suffering
is life force vs. other forces

Read Sec T on + think what
forces in nature, related to equilibrium
& use & entropy + spirit, are brought
into play by V.V., and what the

violent process breaks off from it i.e. at a disadvantage. Not merely long-time, but long space. Perhaps distance in space or time is not the same here, i.e. means and ends are one.

May not the apparent increase of India's wealth under Br rule be due to a monetization, a mobilization, a symbolization of existing wealth, making it differently available but no more in quantity?

Time is the measure of change. Both space + time are static in logic but all logic is in its dynamic. (Scott Buchanan).

Nov 15. Up to day before yesterday [illegible] Times a European loyalist defence organization has been formed in Calcutta & it has criticised the "lack of firmness & solidity of front" to protect people. This is perhaps a reflection of the real Indian sight. But chiefly it is an admission of the continuing & growing strength of the Indian nationalists & of the failure of repression. This is 2 months after Gandhi's arrest and about a year after the time we had taken.

Symbols, like conduct, are a language that appeals to the unconscious. ~~Unlike conduct~~, Some symbols have a richness of association that is lacking to much conduct, & ∴ such symbols may be, as much as much more powerful than.

example. Symbols usually ~~outlast~~ are more permanent than any individual.

Now like Mr. G. Elliott may think that M.V.R. wont work because of the prevalent cowardice. But that view while possible in the West, is not true of India for several reasons:-

(a) India is so deeply religious & ∴ believes in reality & eternity of the soul. This makes cremation possible.

(b) The M.V. of the Leaders & a vast number of other non-spiritual is a strong living force of temple, as strong practically & much stronger genuinely than the temple of X. Yet the latter persisted, & did that of Buddha & all other true MVRs.

(c) Here the ~~race~~ difference of race helps the cause. Also the difference in ~~religion~~ cultural & religious values,

the force of nationalism, the economic
forces of self-defense, the strength, power of
an agricultural civilization, the weight
of numbers of population, the world-wide
opposition to capitalistic tyranny,
the world wide clash of color, the
latent resentful defiance by Japan of
the White ~~Supremacy~~ League of Nations,
the fond fight of France or England,
the subtle change of values implicit in
Gandhi's program, the religious
opposition of Islam to X unity, the
(the desire of U.S. to' isolate Japan, The last
just distrust of Am. Empire.
(d) The ~~force~~ right of voluntary suffering
will arouse among ~~to oppose~~ many
other Indians to oppose Japan. This
~~sympathy with overturn the power of~~
~~violence~~ power of suffering is stronger
than the force-producing power of violence
by Japan.

(a) The opposition in England today, consisting of bishops, Free Traders, I.L.P., Labour Party, Indian Friends

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On the other hand people may say that rough stuff worked in Italy, why not in India? Because for one reason, the Fascist rulers of Italy are not aliens, because they really care for Italian economic & political power & reforms. Also no such opposition as Bapuji. ~~Moreover~~ Many other reasons

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If you are going to try to create actual limit in place of moral, medical, you must work absolutely exclusively & selflessly for public good

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Indians in S. Africa are made prisoners they are not "out of commission", but their example

is counting still more heavily.

—

Does my argument re morale (in HVK book) apply to undisciplined police, such as are being used more in India? They are a case partly of cruelty & partly of release of an inhibited desire for power & dignity. Yes, the argument will apply even to them. The export & growth of new sense of values will ensure their support. Think this through more closely.

—

The financial improvement of Gyan Kr. is a superficial affair, based partly on suppression of news from India. Also otherwise it is deceptive. We'll make Kr. Times unduly cocky & overbearing. They will permit messages & permit the repression in India to go too far. E.g.

more Indians get employees will get interested, like that judge in T.V.A. Moral forces are slowly steadily.

The [illegible] exploitation of balancing the budget will be a factor in making them throw over machine & in starting more labor unrest. It has already started there.

The over-valuation of city & industry against country & agriculture is a natural result of an over-valuing of money & machinery (science).

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pamphlet

Some quotes from Gandhi to show that stability to me U.S.A. gives how political and economic power, rather than the possession of majorities in legislatures.

Y.I. June 18, 1931. Article on "Substance or Shadow." — "It will depend upon what we

mean by and want through Purna Swaraj.
If we mean an awakening among the
masses, a knowledge among them of their
true interest and ability to serve that inter-
est against the whole world, and if
through Purna Swaraj we want harmony,
freedom from aggression from within or
without and a progressive improvement
in the economic condition of the masses,
we can gain one and without political
power and by directly acting upon the
powers that be. One form of direct
action is civil resistance. The second
and more potent form is Satyagraha.
It can easily be shown that whatever is
needful and can be gained by political
and power can perhaps be more
quickly and more certainly gained by
Satyagraha. ... The Congress wants the

substance not the shadow. It can therefore wait for the shadow of power; it cannot wait for the substance of freedom which the dumb millions need and can understand."

Y. I. July 2, 1931. "Power not an End":

"... To me political power is not an end but one of the means of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life. Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representatives. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation is necessary. There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a state every one is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbor. In the ideal state therefore there is no political power because there is no State. But the

ideal is never fully realised in life.
I favour the classical statement of Thoreau that
that Government is best which governs
the least.

"If then I would political power it
is for the sake of the reforms for which the
Congress stands. ~~Therefore when the~~
~~men of the spirit in gaining that power~~
~~may not be~~ ---

"If we were to analyse the activities of
the Congress during the past twelve
years, we would discover that the
capacity of the Congress to take political
power was measured in exact proportion
to its ability to achieve success in the
constructive effort. That is to say the
retention of political power, technical
taking over of the Government machinery
is but a shadow, an emblem. And it

could easily be a burden if it came as a gift from without, the people having made no effort to deserve it."

Possible jobs for 1932-33

Teaching, tutoring, dish hash, Indian Bureau, Inc.?, writing articles.

March 21. If the All India Women Conference does not boycott the R.T.C. some of its followers will either drop away from it or become lukewarm to it. The forty-fifth session to be inaugurated by Lady Tyabji in Bombay will have some effect on Indian Moderation & Nationalism.

It took only 2 years for Arab Nationalism to fail. It may take 2 or 3 years for Hindu Nationalism to fail, for the uniting of Indian unity will

take time, & the working of all factors in world & Br. opinion will also take time. British response to the modern threat has at least ~~confused~~ opened the Moslems & the rest of India that England will yield only grudgingly and only after action. This will flinch the Moslem sense of power & greatly they will demand more. As they demand more the Hindu Moderates will stiffen & realize their opportunity as the country will not have cowardice still more ready. Probably not till the women workers get out & lead the peasants will things move very far.

In several important directions there is a note of apprehension & doubt in Br. minds about the success of the repression, which was running in early months of Indian attempt. E.g. Manchester Guardian, R.T., Fortnightly, Indian talks,

Gandhi's imitation of Gandhi in Nehru's New Statesman

the Economist, statements made in Paul Scott year.

Does my argument re morale in Ch VIII of N V R book apply to undisciplined police, such as are now being used in India? Cf 7 pp. book (p 117). In India if/when the Congress wins, the police will not become roving bands of irresponsible robbers & murderers partly because public opinion will be so utterly against them, partly because it will be difficult for them to get arms & ammunition, partly because in some instances the peasants will overpower them by sheer weight of numbers & probably kill or intimidate most of them. Social boycott on police because they are more apt to live & have come from some district in which they are not

Further People & Organizations likely to be interested in my N.V.R. book

John Haynes Holmes, Dr. J. T. Sunderland, Rev. John Haynes, Rabbi Stephen Wise, Rabbi Leon H. Fram, Brotherhood of Phila., Mrs. E. H. Jones, Jessica Lemon, Jean Crandy, Hunde Royden, Muriel Lester, Ellen Wilkinson, The All World Gandhi Fellowship 128 S Fifth Ave. N.Y. City

War Resisters International - Hon. Secy, Mrs. Runham Brown, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

(Further thoughts on replies of Br. Govt to Pres. address with [illegible] before [illegible])

(127)

The astonishing promptness of the Br reply to Moslem threat (1 day), shows (1) how much Br. is relying on Moslem support (2) how critical is the situation in India and how strong the forces opposed to Br. (3) The Moslems will see this and will now demand more. The Hindu Moderates will also note it; be jealous of Moslem position and disgusted at their own weakness and cowardice & get stimulated to make demands for themselves & at least to withhold support wholly in order to secure something out of Br. The Princes will also note Moslem strong position with disgust & be spurred to more demands. The Moslem demands re representation for control in States will drive Princes away from Br for fear Br will yield to Moslems. The rest of Hindu India will be still more aloof from Moderates, whose

unfulness to Br will, clearly, still further decline.

The some of Moslems who are urging boycott & want yet got it will ~~some of them~~ begin publishing & boycotting now. The arrival, later, of new Jew of Bengal will alienate more Bengali and + fill Moslems. The naming of June 1 by Moslems as date of compliance with their demands ~~put Bi and~~ will be significant. A specific date will show how strong the pro boycotters are among the Moslems.

In 1930 there was so much threat from the Moslems & much more pro Br feeling among Moderates. Also in 1930 the movement had not developed so within 2½ months of start so much weakening of Br position

than us. The broken bayonets of R.I.C. may lighten the oppression on Moslems a little. But not much as N.W.F.P. because there the military one is adopted. And both there & elsewhere the Govt will find it hard to teach its wild dogs. And if the dogs are checked, their self-assurance & morale will drop a little for they will miss the bonus from. Perhaps the action of Moslems may give courage to timid Moderates to make some demands, so as to try to secure a little more support for themselves from the public. And if the oppression of Moslems is heightened, but not that of Hindus, the Moderates will become more embittered vs Govt.

If the Manchester Guardian correspondent is correct in saying that Indian Govt have no plans or proposals as to what to do after repression is over, it is profoundly sad

more than that they have no plans in case they suddenly have to end the agitation in order to try to escape complete disaster.

The Muslim mistake on Jan 1 for an ~~open~~ ~~an important~~ demonstration from the kind of joint million ~~ex~~ marches from beginning of the campaign, - a faster development than occurred under Irwin's attempt. If joint forces Moderate support Muslims the Hindu ~~sup~~ would wane. If it is only a slight favoring the pro-Congress & optimist communists Muslims with appeal. If it conceded all to the Muslims, in a foolish hope that Muslims can once more rule India, that is destined to failure for the Princes would then desert as well as the entire Hindu community.

The English have got so deeply entangled

in India have tried to lead them many years to corrupt Indians & change their culture for sake of trade & enterprise. But pride that now the Br. are caught in the mesh & cannot extricate themselves. It will be their ruin.

If Indian business men & Moderates & middle & upper classes generally were to give the new govt. Gandhi & his disciples will go to villages, rouse them & upset the Congress. It is inevitable. I wish I could get wind of my book published in India & so to help this consummation.

The combination of the rich & Moslem developments shakes Br prestige at a moment when she was beginning again to get cocky. Note that June 1 comes before both

Jansenism and Ultramontanism

If Br. chose the repression or lighten it, more of the details of the horrors will creep out in India & deaden the Moslems, more & more up to June 1 & beyond. On the other hand if the repression is kept up or intensified more people will be taken within its rope & the feeling in Britain will grow deeper & stronger & wider. So she is divided.

—

Perhaps Londonderry Calvinism himself did not come until the rotting times would be only time for ~~reign~~ union.

—

The Lotus Sutra by W.S. Soothill
Oxford Press 1930

"The Secret of the golden Flower" R. Wilhelm. Commentary by C.G. Jung. Trans by Cary F. Baynes. Kegan Paul 10/6 ed.

If as Liddell Hart states, the most important aim in war is the morale of the enemy command, the publication of my book in England might help to shake that.

—

Mar 25. The Manchester Guardian's special correspondent's last story from India contained an admission that Congress is right re appointment of Pr. Govt. A — indication of beginning of change of heart. Comfort to me it is only personal, but really is result of talk w. many Englishmen there. An indication that (Pr.) many appears there is in danger of being cut. When that begins to be cut, it will be at first on Indian suction. Pers morale will weaken. Of course he had to accuse Gandhi + the Congress of not wanting to settle, that is merely bankruptcy. His proposals for Govt reform were so manifestly impossible for Govt to accept

Pr. talked almost never disclosing with

Londonderry sends Ulster companion volunteer in a strike. The investors that have isolation must cease before ordnance will be lifted, together with some ignorance & military & bureaucratic stupidity will ensure its going too far for forgiveness.

There will be non-Congress Muslims in jail when time comes for parley & they will have to be released at same time as Gandhi & on same terms, & if unity is not got then Govt will have hard time in keeping peace while parley goes on. I incline to think that the end will come before 1942 is over, at the present pace of developments.

My book on N.V.R. may help people to see new significance to N's life & death.

5

One organ in the body does not refuse to help another just because the other is diseased, even if the wound ~~[illegible]~~ is functioning so as to injure the rest of the body (e.g. a cancer). So in ~~the~~ society, we ought to help even our enemies - those who injure us. They are only sick or confused in heart & mind (& not whole).

—

Prof D. Kosambi says the 4 Jaina principles were Ahimsa, Satya, Asteya (non-stealing, and Aparigraha (non-possession, or extreme simplicity). ~~Jaindhi has~~ There were also the basis which Buddha expanded into his 8-fold path. Ajandhi added Karma, - bodily labor. Buddha said "right action & right livelihood"; but in the hands of the monks that was explained away. They were parasitic.

The (12) cap Gita was written in 5th century A.D. by a Brahmin for one of the Gupta kings. A melange of what that might entail at that time there was an invasion of India which that king wanted to oppose so he got the Brahmin to write a defense of fighting — in the Gita.

It seems to me that Gandhi's favorite part of Gita as an allegory of spiritual struggle is not psychologically correct, because we don't win by suppressing our evil impulses but by alternation ∴ the fight inside is not correct

---

The yesterdays commitment by Indian Princes to federation is not as helpful to Britain as it looks on surface,

because they made it a condition that their safeguards should be in addition of the Federation & instead on equal safeguards for themselves from Crown. This arouse the opposition of all Rs. India to the such a Federation & ∴ postponed Bill's attempt to impose it on to other matters. Today disillusions Indian moderate still further.

Apr. 4. The article by Com. Kenworthy in yesterday Hy-H.T. views is significant, especially together with Smith's article in Yale Review. Shows that the Br. split on India is widening from D.L.P to a larger & more influential section of Labour Party. Cf. Baldwin's prediction in 1931 a split in England on this q. Can also read note the confirmation preceding — Indian between

Mahrattas, the great Chiefs, Sikhs, a growing section of Moslems & the Congress. The withdrawal of Powers is an indication of the strengthening of the Congress. The Powers are seeking Br. protection, not because they love it, but because it is their only refuge.

Br. dread effect of wartime Armaments, but overlook the slow but perhaps more permanent effect of long continued police brutality.

As time goes on things do not get quieter in India because more and more of the stories filter through the censorship by word of mouth, & the real reaction of the population everywhere gets deeper & the disillusionment of upper crust get

more complete.

—

In the race for survival, the race is not to the strong or swift but to the adaptable. Humility makes for adaptability.

If the Roman Catholic Church could drop its alliance with violence, it could once again challenge the State for supremacy. Possibly my book might enable it to do so. Not. It is a vain thought.

—

Buddha, Krishna and Christ did not attack existing institutions or attempt any economic reforms, but nevertheless they took care to live in the humblest and simplest way possible — & spent most of their time among the poorest and the

loveliest and the best", to use Tagore's beautiful phrase. Buddha imposed extraordinary reforms on his order, — "live no money, live in extreme simplicity."

April 15 Presently, because Provincial finances will weaken before Central finances (& partly because Gp. Govt. will support Central by loans) the soldiers will be used increasingly, instead of the police, to collect taxes. The soldier morale will suffer under this new usage, because of both of sense of being protectors & because of direct contact with people.

The news in Punjab that Punjab Govt did not present a complete budget is significant. Afraid to let people know how bad things are. Also the modern expansion of Punjabi papers is also

interesting as showing fright about Moslem revolt. That will not help Govt.

The Viceroy's trip to N.W.F.P. is bluff on prestige. That he should think it necessary to do it now & to go further up than any previous Viceroy and at short notice. The shooting of 4 voting packets in N.W.F.P. will anger more Moslems out of India. Incidentally the polling was effective & the feeling in Bo. cut down voting seriously, especially among Moslems.

The ~~Boston~~ Manchester G's correspondent's & the Spectator's correspondent's questions of what expt & indicate the sense of being really off Indians, the lack of support due to lack of violence from Indians.

Thanking God in a prayer (Cf. Christ's advice as to how to pray) is, if done rightly, a mode of realizing unity, and using X's formula is a method of realizing that God is in all & that all events are caused by God & of by our regards ~~ego~~ of Him

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The admission in recent letter from India to the Spectator that all is peaceful as N.V. raises the Q., then why continue the ordinances?

Mr. Ferris Greenslet, - Houghton Mifflin

Suggested N.V. - Can we now treat the stay on N.V. as a method of ~~one~~ could be shortened or ~~some~~ portions of the record plainly unmarried? The great police might be

strengthened if I were to read up the best books on prayer practice. Look up [illegible] Should try to see whether the sentiments are not a guide and support and relief for the emotions. Hymns to be used as an aid to discipline and training. Toward end of Ch. on "Efficiency of V V there are several passages explaining how discipline makes it possible. These original passages to go into ch. on How - Mem. of V V possible?

O Lion Cromwell — "I beseech you in the bowels of Christ to think it possible that you may be mistaken

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April 27. Viney is flattering the Modern Hymn of Belmeister & of W.W.F.

April 28. The statements today by Dunn & Willingdon are both a recognition of

the failure of Br. policy within the 3 months planned, & of the necessity to make a public explanation in answer to rising criticism.

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When the criticism increases in Br. papers & journals it will take the heart out of Br. civil servants in India. Their discouragement will be felt by Indian police. Indian police will become very cautious — they begin to get afraid, & that will add to Br. debacle.

—

Tagore's call to drop caste & ritual strife is an important sign of increasing unity. ~~Gandhi~~ It ~~does~~ and Tagore's talk on Bapu's birthday indicate an increasing unity between intelligencia & Bapu.

May 6. As the months go by and the Indian Ordinances remain in effect, the police and magistrates get more and more in the habit of wielding despotic tyrannical powers, and the continuance of the disobedience makes the police & officials try to enlarge their powers and be more cruel and openly reckless about it. So the conversion of more people to Congress grows faster & wider and firmer. Only the abject cowards and place seekers stay with the government. The place seekers will have less & less respect from other Indians and be widely ostracised. So the Govt gets more and more afraid of letting go & ending the oppression.

May 9. Lord Peel's recent admission before public & Tory Society that the E. Indian

Pall's title in Fortnightly Rev.

Times have not helped & that he dislikes exceedingly the idea of Br. lying to with the communal award, together with Zetland's remarks, & Pal's earlier articles in Fortnightly Rev, shows that Tories dont know what to do & will continue present policy in India in desperation. The public disagreement with O'Dwyer. Add to this the discouragement spread at Empire Society by the former Postmaster General. All this added to Irwin's remarks quoted in the Times, gives a picture of real discouragement and lack of initiative & ~~[illegible]~~ and lack of inventiveness & being on the defensive, among the Br. ruling class in relation to India. Irwin sees further than the others.

The developments in June-July among Moslems may be dramatic.

Ways in which 1932 counts as Failure than 1930

1. More prisoners rooms, ∴ more courage, stronger desire for action freedom, better organization.
2. greater unity by Govt. ∴ greater fear by Govt
3. More extensive & intensive detailed supervision
4. More women in it
5. greater financial losses to Govt & Br. trade (?)
6. More merchants arrested rooms
7. Indian legislators sore re Govt
8. Br. Cause (Butterfield +) spilled
9. Princes involved rooms, both in own states & in relation to Govt
10. Nationalist Moslems more active
11. More Red Shirts
12. Greater apathy by Govt
13. More uniform movements among Indians, (Mungi - Hijli)

14. Indian intellectuals more for Gandhi,
   - shown by Tagore's remarks.
15. Indian Liberals pushed to corner room
16. More discipline among Congressmen
17. More suffering in Madras
18. The divisive movement among Moslems
   is weakening instead of strengthening,
   altho it is perhaps stronger than in 1930.
19. Br. opposition in England developed
   room.
20. Discouragement & lack of initiative
   among Br. Tories has developed
   rapidly & is very deep & widespread.
21. The sympathy with Congress in India is much
   more intense & widespread & the
   bitterness & suspicion of Govt much
   ~~deeper~~ more intense & widespread
   than before.
22. The result of Moslems of direct action in
   com.

grant is now.

23. Drop suspicion of Saipan et al as grant is now.

24.

In the light of Norman Brown's book, my 2d ed of Ecof K. ought to help India a good deal to make her selection of western elements of culture. Perhaps this is one reason why it is now being widely read there. Norman's book ought to help make a market for my E V R. book.

Perhaps part of the appeal by W. Churchill + others for financial aid + cooperation from U.S. to England is

due to fear of what may happen to England if she loses India.

All these constitutions & conferences & committees that England insists on having re India are nonsense until the problem of power, — who has got the power? — is settled. That problem is what Gandhi's movement is settling.

Norman Brown says I ought to write a book about the Nationalist case in India.

May 17. Re Bombay & Calcutta H-H riots of Shaukat Ali's recent attacks thereon. While my hunch, these riots are not as bad as if they were re the Br. They will make Br. want to hold

on, Govt will not make the Hindu liberals love the Br. any more. Probably will solidify + stiffen, but it heightens the tension of revolutionary tendencies. Note that these are only city riots, not country; that they are in Br. territory, not States. Probably they will not matter much, but they will not prevent freedom eventually. The lesson of it + folly will serve as warning to all Hindus + other Moslems, as violence. The official Br will readily rejoice, + all the Br will say 'this proves we must retain control'; + the Times will probably say + thus mean end of Br. rule. Troop movements + military expense will increase + trade will drop still further. Most Hindus will believe that this was really started by Br + opposed by them. The gulf will widen between two groups of Moslems. Of the number dead with those in Egypt, Germany + Russian Revolutions. Finish + Hungarian. Yet

these countries are accorded the right of self
govt. Cf the differences - Br attitude
towards the anti-govt riots in New Zealand
and Newfoundland in the spring of 1932.

Very what effect these riots will have
on the Br. Govt in granting the demands of
Moslems or settling the communal difficulty
Probably will prevent any such move,
as further trouble will enhance military
expenses, and the Br do not want that.
They will probably figure that they can prevent a
Moslem boycott by controlling Ali-Ghul
& Co, & that the Communal feeling is
now intense enough for divide & ruling
purposes.

The visit of Bombay H-Ms incidence will
tend to make the pro-Br Moslems & the
Br themselves more distinctly one group,
aligned on the Congress Moslems & Hindu

India The split among Moslems will become deeper & wider.

As more gold is taken out of the country, the day of peasant evolution is hastened. The govt raising more taxes on articles of present consumption ~~schools~~ also enhances the difficulties of livelihood.

Princes will be still less inclined to move one way or the other. They Note that there grounds increase where Br comes to power. ~~(a significant fact)~~ Yet they dread Congress too.

This volume will probably tend to attract moderates or Moslems. Hindus of all sorts & Sikhs & Congress & Sound Moslems will veer away from Ali & Co.

In India

All the Constitution making, & ~~chatter about franchise~~ committee making & talk about franchises etc is silly. The until the problem of who has political power is settled ~~no basis~~ ~~can be laid~~

there is settled. All the Br. discussion on the T.S. article is designed to deceive the Br electorate, a few muddle headed or timid Indians, and the rest of the world. It won't work. There will be a lot of clatter re Sothern report.

Apparently the Br press is preparing the way for it now. The last 2 numbers of New Statesmen, Spectator, Economist & Round End Rev all have editorials, long or short re India. New S. is frankly hostile to Govt & despairing of the future.

Made into a pamphlet my charges re apparent inconsistencies of X and Gandhi. "Apparent Inconsistencies of Two Great Exemplars of Non-Violence"

May 26. The news of burning of 1000 houses in Chirala probably means sealed by police. ~~If so~~ In any event, Moslem majorities will be aroused & inflamed.

On showing the deepening split in Br. opinion, this last week's conservative Saturday Review has ~~upset~~ its regular pro & con discussion given up to "Shall we continue to hold India?"

The New Statesman editorial is as like that of the India Review that I'm not sure the same writer. This week almost all the Br. journals have editorials on India, but blame is the Br. Many magazines.

One sum for Gandhi's attitude.

toward medicine is due to his complete
alliance with the villagers. They
must be given forms of treatment that
they with their appalling poverty
can use, and methods that will
fit with the way their minds
work. This is also true of his
economic program, his ideas of
diet, perhaps all of his ideas are
built around, to some to some
degree, I think.

June 9. Indian police are now attacking
salt men to make money. This will
alienate many landholders. May be a
period after Dec. power breaks when
some big landowners will carry on with
help of bands of police. Cannot be
permanent tho for the general awaken-

ing will mop them away & they will be isolated even before that. Police without the organisation & direction are not well enough organised to carry on

—

Apparently the Sattvic upsurge wants to spread communalism wider & thus make it deeper & more intense. Hence divide & rule. But it wont work, I think, because the suspicion and hatred ~~of~~ to be engendered by the continuance of ordinances will prevent the scheme being put into operation, & perhaps the H.-M. [illegible] stirred by the fast and will block the scheme. "Divide & rule" is failing because of the supreme unifying power of Satyagraha.

—

Although Indian intellectuals may go mad

(See p-160)

Lucien recommends -

Richard Grant White - "Words & their Uses"

H. W. Fowler - "A Dictionary of Modern English Usage" - Oxford U. Press 1926

Yeats's translation of Sophocles' Edipus Rex

Ibsen's "Rosmersholm"

I think the peasants will remain predominantly non-violent.

The plan of life which uses many clothes so as to afford changes & thus make them last a long while is mechanically efficient so far as the clothes are concerned, and financially efficient as far as expenses go. But it is not simple. It presupposes police protection as enemies or needy or greedy people. It erects barriers between myself & the poor. It loads me down with many possessions & expensive rooms.

If people do not believe me it is not necessarily anything to do with me. Rather, what they believe is what is in accordance with their system of values, i.e. what they desire. Of course

there is a conflict of values & desires in such person & civilization, so it is a question of keeping steadily on the one that seems most right and ordering themselves & growth. Slowness effect.

June 13. Perhaps the talk from Simla about needing only a few Indians to help draft the Indian bill is because the Br. can only now get a very few whom they can rely on for such a job. I suspect that this is so. But to do this will only embitter all those left out so much as to ~~bitterness~~ make the resulting scheme still further impossible of application. Steadily Br. is being backed into the position of holding India by guns & only by guns. Meanwhile the subversive Congress activities will steadily increase. The police will get more & more out of hand & become more robbers. Trade will dwindle so that great fortunes

will make. Govt cannot will they only for money & will sabotage anything. Brest Br. opinion will grow more & more disgusted. Bonds of Br. statesmanship will grow thinner. The export of gold means the dwindling of subsequent trade for lack of purchasing power, & ∴ the drop of govt means. Banks will increase. Villages grow more self efficient. May be that present result my time.

But as police get milder they will assault & rob more rich landowners & Hindu Moderates & Moslem communists with money. That will alienate present govt supporters.

Charlie Andrews is wrong in saying Govt is gambling on a good monsoon. It is gambling on a rise in prices.

Presently finances will get so low as to compel a decrease in wages of police & clerks. Then bombs will begin.

Perhaps the implica of cruelty with real religion — The Bible is responsible for much of the cruelty & woe in history of Christianity. & I/we, this is a good reason for not much reading of old Testament to children.

N.V.R. books; note on Economics.
I want a different attitude of the Council
re Z. & ~~Z~~ Newfoundland visits in 1932.

In the last 3 or 4 daily reports from India there is an increasing feeling of consciousness of power, discipline, & organization and success. Sees appealing. ~~from [illegible]~~. I suspect the Government have visible checks in P.O. who let these reports go thru. The leaks in Bengal case & Sobhan report suggest

likelihood that there are Congress sympathizers in all clerical staff assignments. This will grow. Presently Br will not be able to rely on any Indians.

As the struggle proceeds & more elements join Congress the sense of divinity & weakness will drop away. The sense of power & of great power of Br. will increase. Along with drop in Br. moral prestige will go a drop in Br. prestige & Br. gains and ability of many sorts. Br. political ability will no longer be respected. This will encourage efforts toward much more propaganda & organization among peasants.

Ind will grow in importance & assume a greater place in ec. life, despite attacks of police. Ws sense of indignities are growing more & more Indians are growing more aroused & militantly self conscious and

purpose. Moslems, ~~with~~ & Sikhs will struggle [illegible]

That Nehru got hold of my book means that it will begin to sell more widely. Also the pamphlet

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The swing of Bengal Muslim Provincial League to joint electorates counterbalances and is more important than the Bombay H-M riots. Indeed the reason of the latter will help toward unity more. The more decent of both communities & will help obtain public talk vs. rabble-rouser. The Bengal Muslims are over 1/3 of the total All-India Muslims, over twice as many as Punjab Muslims, nearly 3 times as many Muslims as in all the States, ~~over~~ 6 times more than in any other province except Punjab. (1421 census)

In 6 mos. many articles mention the 3 uncertainties of Br. joint action (1) communal ~~pollonal~~ award, (2) nature of new proposals re provinces & centre, (3) time of initiating new legislation, (4) action re modification of ordinances.

Ajmal is scared of them all, especially 1 & 4. All interrelated. Probably will wait in hope that prices will rise & that they can get away with it then. But no, not even then. Rise in prices will not settle the communal dispute. And the drain of Indian gold will, I suspect prevent a rise in world prices from helping Indian purchasing power. The fall in cotton production in India will hurt Bombay mills.

June 19. Reading the June Br. Quarterly ed by Sokhey on India gave me satisfaction despite it reaction tone. ~~The fact that~~ It is so reactionary &

shortsighted and ignorant that it shows the state of the Br official mind in India. That, the Manch G. reporter & the D.T. imes correspondent all show same idea. The admissions in this new article are significant, - that all will go to pieces if ordinances are ~~used~~ ended, that Congress boycott is very effective tho largely silent, that Moslems are split into 3 groups, pro-Congress, anti Cong. & anti Br., and pro-Br, and that middle one is large & powerful. The article shows anger & blind obstinacy, & blind alley state of mind, & subconscious desperation.

The alienating of Indian gold will before long lower Indian credit in London & elsewhere. If Mussolini export will relieve Indian purchasing power for a long time to come. The drop in Ry earnings will relieve purchases of ry equipment, & the discharge of 7,000 Ry workers will add to agg un Govt.

Evidently the Br in India hope that when the time comes to open the prison doors ~~that~~ Gandhi & the Congress will be a rival of De Valera & Sinn Fein. But why? Or perhaps they think Gandhi will cooperate. I think not. Everybody is still moving Gandhi's way, & cooperation will not help India, as I see it.

The Govt no longer hope for active help from moderates. Perhaps shy more on Justice Party. Br. Govt not yet ready to offer a new scheme, too much else is happening, — Ottawa & Sanctions & Geneva. So I think affairs will slide along & July will bring various matters to a head, especially among Moslems & those waiting to see what Govt will do about O dinners.

The Br may calculate that Gandhi will soon die and they can keep him in prison till nearly then + then depress the people of his leadership. But the longer he stays in jail the more the people are to follow his ideals rather than those of the Br or those of the Govt

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June 24. The N.V.R. book – while Satyagrahis are in jail, the selfish politicians outside go through their mangles for months and get more and more spoyed; and their selfishness is so glaringly in contrast to the unselfishness of those in jail that the ~~s~~ all decent people of all classes turn away in disgust and mistrust from the free politician to the

others in jail. Thus the N.V.R. party is strengthened & its prestige is weakened.

This is happening very clearly among the Moslem dis-leads in India. Their stated demands via Lyga Khan published in London Times will alienate Hindu Moderates still more & probably end the effectiveness of the Consultative Committee. The Moderates will feel their futility still more & it will be more patent to all. Gandhi perhaps feels the weakness other leads.

It looks fairly sure that Br Govt will refuse Moslem demands of immediate abrogation. Br Cabinet preoccupied with Germany, Japan, Ottawa and home finance Moslems too domineering, & Br will want to

them for that. Be apparently more afraid of means of Congress activity than of a Moslem boycott. Also fear that Moslems would slip toward Congress, while they hope that a Moslem boycott would not be with Congress, would not be economic, & no particular political movement at this moment. Also that it will be fairly multiplied & overcome when new Govt of India Act is announced. As it will be mostly provincial autonomy & will give much to Moslems in Bengal, Punjab, Sind, N.W.F. they think that will satisfy Moslems. Also the Govt. may be willing to weaken the Moslems & have some division among them as long as they do not go over to Congress.

The feeling of the Moslem leaders' demands

will lower their prestige & in order to retain leadership they will have to yield to more left wings. C. if they don't then Leftists will go over toward Congress, or at least start some action outside Govt moves. May link up with Red Shirts. Point, as the the Moderate leaders are disturbed by restiveness in their ranks. So they have bungled.

If Govt yields, Hindu Moderate will regain at least do, prestige. If Govt does not yield & resigns or does nothing, Moderates will either split & some more further & more active as Govt, or will all move more actively as Govt. Tendency toward activity will increase like water starting through a hole in a dam. Pressure of

Moslem poverty will see it as an outlet. Active opposition to Govt will mean Govt repression. Thus, as many of police are Moslems, & Islam is so democratic, the danger of police insubordination is increased.

Perhaps no great outburst of trouble immediately, but the beginning of trouble which in a month or so may increase greatly, - before Br. Govt can bring Bill into Parl.

It looks as if a smaller & smaller number of Indians are willing actively to cooperate with Br. - purpose of giving up another session of R.T.C.

Probably the strength of Catholic church lies more in its intelligent use of symbols

than in its organization.

The election of MacDonald in spite of Tory predominance in H of C, is in part an indication of the Br. ruling class fear of disunity on Indian policy.

Silence about Congress & Gandhi in Br. is in part the intentional irony of the ostrich. Very effective as long as their prestige was immense. Grows less effective every month.

Even in England, as well as in India, the Solution & Fed F in Con reports were duds.

I suspect that the present quiet about N.W. F means that a lot may be

happening there. Cf. burning of 1000 rounds in Chamberlain Hwy 26.

The steady [illegible] of our Indian Bulletins will help persuade people to deal Indian struggle & Br. determination.

If Bombay riots have turned Indians further vs Govt, it does not make much diff if they also acted to support Br. Govt dilatoriness in ~~work~~ opinion of foreign countries, for Indian sentiment is ~~no~~ important for victory than is any foreign or Br feeling or thinking.

June 28. Today statement in NYT ~~in~~ by Sir S. Hoare re new Indian legislation comes opportunely for India. Perhaps it was timed deliberately to hold back the Moderates (depending on who read the q.) but

it wont hold them all back. And it will at least serve to increase the suspicions of Hindu moderates and weaken their cooperation with Govt. There was so little flourish about it that I suspect that the Cabinet is none too happy about its position and the prospects of the legislation. It looks like delay till autumn. Very plainly is the Simon Report. Will perhaps please the Times, perhaps not. The Indian commercial community will be definitely hostile toward it. I think the Moslem Conference will split on it. If rough stuff has been going on in N.W.F. perhaps the news of it will get to enough Moslems before July 5 to cause reactions.

June 29. English first let the world know of the nature of Indian-Gandhi struggle. N.Z. & U.V. Now when they clamp down censorship it does not harm Indians. Indians now have attained enough solidarity & Congress is strong enough so that censorship does no harm. But Indians get news of Br attitude even tho Br. do not get news of Indian attitude. So Indians as they can get nothing by argument & talk & so are driven to Bapu's form of direct action.

Bhanbhat Ali has learned his own position & practice & that of all the leaders of the N. Cong. by his message to widow of a former police officer and also by his subsequent talk & doings in Bombay. Yakub's talk sounded as if he were getting doubtful of Br.

June 29. Re U.P.R. It is clear from efforts in India that the unifying power of U.P.R. among those who actually use it and are not politically prejudiced against its users, is strong and or at least more prompt in coming into the consciousness and causing action than is its effect in breaking down morale of the opposition.

If the Bombay riots break up Hindu trade there, it will go to Ahmedabad & other centres, taking the objection to Br. with it, - spreading the opposition also to villages. Unifying city and country. Loss of wealth of Bombay will injure Br. there more than India in long run. It will also injure Moslems.

June 30. The new Ordinances pretend to be a lightening but it will not be easy to restrain the Indian police who have enjoyed so much power. So it will be a pretence, & so entirely arbitrary & irresponsible in action that people will be still more full of resentment. The Technical lifting in N.W.F. will lessen but spread the storm of opposition. Moslem resentment. The retention in 21 districts of U.P. is significant. Quiet as S. India. About 247 districts in all India. 48 in U.P.

D. G. Tendulkar "Dilliamond India" Ch. "On a Holy Man Says It" 178 Re British in India

"If they go they will remain. And if they remain they will go."

In considering the Bombay riots, remember that cities are only 1/10 of population.

The drain of gold for India & the communal troubles are signs of that further purification is needed. But the purifying urge & influence is there & will not easily

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Effect of B. riots on pro. B. workers
group will be to harden their demands &
effect on Br Govt will be antagonistic
& desire to "protect" the loyalists. Of its
effect on anti Br. workers, on Indian
moderates, on Congress what if it
spreads to other cities? They weaken
the Left

After the Br complete their new
Indian Bill they cannot do as they did

with the Irish treaty, - compel its acceptance by a threat of war. I think not. Because what the Br want from India not merely money, it's prestige + jobs. So Br will not give a treaty that will be acceptable to Indians. How can they seem it to be worked by Indians, because Indians don't know how to ~~work~~, cant carry votes from citizens so as to keep them in power. Br. would not give would prestige from threatening war on a disarmed + morally non-fighting India. She could do that as Irish because Irish were armed + fighting. Br. can get prestige from keeping known people under subjection but not from keeping while slaves under subjection. The subjection must be subtle + indirect + largely willing because of acceptance of same values. Indians don't have same values.

Perhaps the Bombay meeting has got to go on long enough to prove to modern-minded Indians that they cannot win that way, i.e. that Gandhi's way is the only way. Perhaps the dawn of gold & the continuance of Br rule is ~~not~~ God's way of making such complete destitute of Br ways as to bring a complete reversion to Indian ideals & a complete rejection of all Western mind. Dawn Mukerji's line - "If they stay they go, if they go they stay".

The aromatic upstart plants, get on to upset apples.

Perhaps the psychological truth behind Mukerji's line is that if the struggle on an evil is on same plane as the

evil than it says, while if the the forces are lifted up to a higher plane + there resolved, the former evil really goes

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Perhaps the Br. intend to follow the Bombay riots with a communal award that will stir riots elsewhere. If they do, it will be a boomerang. The peasants will remain non-violent. Several cities may dwindle in blood and horror, but Govt revenue and Br. profits will dwindle even faster. Having its reward openly flouted by both parties will harm Govt prestige rather more than any gain from further communal divisions. If communal feeling gets very wide spread it will result in so much administrative sabotage among Govt clerks as to break down Govt operations.

July 8 The fact that Prince of Wales recently attended London dinner of Indian Police mine, & there were flattering expressions of congratulation from every Provincial Supt of Police in India about it shows the strain under which they are in India, & the danger to their morale. It will not lessen in these coming months. Probably this was especially arranged for the Indian police, and the ~~confidence cannot be measured~~.

Prince of Wales' speech will be read to all Indian policemen. The passage about animal magnetism was tell-tale, also the one about "mistakes". ~~Compromise~~ That this was necessary so soon after the establishment of that new medal of honor for Indian policemen shows that the Br are worried about the morale. That the attendance at the dinner was a record (150)

in England.
also shows appreciation. The 0 dimmers will stay on another 6 months, - so if police morale has got so bad in the 1st 6 months, we can be sure that the social hygiene is more o is being greatly felt. Probably the min's views are sampling under it. If in any district the 0 dimmers are lifted, there might be a little more social contact between police and people, & a fair chance of interfering more with police morale. Coupon activity will increase after the raids. The raids will be a good time for underground preparation. The immense strength of caste organisations will prove stronger than any social flattery & prestige of Bx.

Re W.V.R. The work I plod along in my work may be considered as a sort of conditioning of the emotions.

"Food Allergy" by Albert H. Rowe. (U of Calif. Med. School) - Lea & Febiger, Phila. 1931.

Notes. p. 63.

"Elimination Diets for Diagnosis & Treatment of Food allergy"

Class	Diet #1	Diet #2	Diet #3	Diet #4
Cereal	Rice	Corn Tapioca	Rice Rye	milk alone for the test period 2 to 3 quarts a day
Bread	Rice biscuit	Corn pone	Rye-rice	
Meat or Fish	Lamb	Bacon Chicken	Beef	
Vegetables	Lettuce Spinach Carrots	Squash Asparagus Peas Artichokes	Tomatoes Beets String beans	
Fruits & jams & fruit drinks	Lemon Pears Peaches	Pineapple Apricot Prunes	Grapefruit Pears Peaches	
Miscellaneous	Sugar Olive oil Salt Gelatin Syrup made from cane sugar flavored with maple Onion (unstuffed)	Sugar Maple oil Salt Karo corn syrup	Sugar Wesson oil Salt Gelatin Syrup made with cane sugar flavored with maple	

These contain only foods to which allergic sensitiveness is infrequent.

The foods to which people are frequently

sensitive allergically are, (1) wheat, (2) eggs, (3) milk (4) chocolate, (5) spinach, (6) celery, (7) spinach (8) string beans (9) fish (10) shell fish, cabbage, tomatoes, white potatoes, corn, cauliflower, black pepper, onion, rice, orange, asparagus, lime, grapefruit, lettuce, navy bean, mustard, oats, bananas.

While rioting is not a sign that people are unfit to govern themselves, it does argue lack of self-control.

Perhaps by my interpret Tagore's recent sentimental appeal as a weakening by Bengali educated people. But not so. Old man's weakness.

Must try in all little acts of day to day to suppress the unity + assumption that each person is trying to be decent, even if at first go off it appears otherwise.

Re "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's" are these not the values that Caesar creates & maintains?

Though Br. leaders are discouraged re India, they are not yet hopeless. Cf. obs. Thompson's latest book - that "with luck", the door will hold for 2 yrs. Later they will lose hope, & then when the news leaks out in England, the people will see the dishonesty of their leaders & then the disintegration in Br. will begin.

9/ Hindu Moslem feeling get much deeper it will cause much sabotage among govt clerks & break down administration.

The fact that Mac D is related may indicate the fears of Gr B. ruling class about a split in parties over India.

If Br govt is expecting the pro-Br Indians to run the new govt when formed in India, it will fail, for by that time those Indians will have become as greatly mistrusted and disliked as the Br., so Satyagraha will proceed as then without let up or at least easily.

Admissions of strength of Congress & difficulties for Br govt have been made by Hoare, MacDonald, Prince of Wales, Irwin, Willingdon, Peel, Fremantle, Empire Society, former Postmaster-General.

Norman Brown thinks that the re-enactment of the ordinances is the most significant admission of failure of them all. Probably he is right.

Perhaps one reason why Br do not want another R.T.C. is because it would draw world attention to India & what is happening there now. Also may

from that Indian delegates may take advantage of the power of the Congress, just as at the first R.T.C. All the world would say nothing why don't you have Gandhi there? Attendance The weakness of Br position would be laid too bare for comfort. But the pressing it down to a few Indians to go to London would make the Indians who are left out apprehensive, jealous & suspicious of govt & of all other groups. So that makes for still less cooperation.

My article for Unity mined 2 points (1) that G. of India is taking much more active part than in 1930; (2) that opposition is growing stronger wider in England.

Curzon's mind that "Any idiot can rule by martial law."

July "Perhaps MacDonald's tendency to procrastination will help delay the communal award. It is now nearly 6 months since the Committee sitted for it and 3 months since Br. said she would make it with no unnecessary delay.

Gandhi has many more real followers and vastly more sympathizers than Christ had at time of his death. So if X ended Roman Empire in 300 years, the heightened speed of all social process plus the vastly greater following of Gandhi will ensure his upsetting the Br Empire in a very few years, whether he dies or not.

By the time the new Govt of India bill is done the Hindu-moslem tension among the place-seekers will be so strong that they cannot

word ~~[illegible]~~ enough to carry the Cond jointly. Besides all the fear of Congress by Br Tories will make them whittle down the Simon proposals so as to grant ephemerally little to India. The world will easily see it is no advance in self-govt so that Br promises are n.g. so Br. strategy so "statesmanship" a failure.

Method of M.V.R. giving by example, wins followers, and practice among the followers creates leaders. ∴ Self-Renewing

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Gentle obstinacy.
Real values for India must be humble

My work on MV is the first of the books on peace to emphasize and explain the importance of mass contact and the

need for detailed discipline.

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Selling agent of a Negro - Willis, W. Wing N.Y.C. But not in tel book.

Carl Bethel, Pres United Press, N.Y.C.

Kent Cooper Mgr Assoc. Press. 420 E. N.Y.C.

International News Service Foreign.

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Rapid transportation & communication, machinery, industry, close organization, all have speeded up all social processes so much that now things happen in 10 years that took 200 years at time of Roman Empire. Took in took 300 years to wear down & conquer R. Empire. Indians by this greater initial numbers will gradually, & greater knowledge of Indians on Ks, will win in 10 years easily, - probably much more.

From "Modern Review", Calcutta,
Jan, 1932.

GANDHISM AND SOCIALISM

By Richard B. Gregg. (S. Ganesan, Madras)

Mr. Gregg's discussions on any subject are always fresh and original. An insistence upon going down to the bottom of a problem and the practice of judging a thing directly in relation to human nature and its requirements renders his treatment of a subject both agreeable and interesting. The present booklet of forty pages is also marked by the same characteristics.

In course of this comparison between Gandhism and Socialism, Mr. Gregg first analyses the existing methods of social control and comes to the conclusion that, in the last resort, they are all based upon fear of physical violence or social stigma and the nurture of mutual fears and jealousies by a selective distribution of titles, privileges, money and honours. At the root they are all separatist in tendency; they break up a community into groups of conflicting interests amidst which the ruling body holds the balance of power in its own favour by means of clever manoeuvres. Gandhism discards all these keys to social control and attempts to establish in their stead a sense of human unity and a conscious desire for service on the part of all citizens of the State as well as among those who are in charge of government. It also relegates money values to a secondary place in human affairs.

In all these matters he finds an agreement between Gandhism and Socialism. Both of them depend, moreover, upon persuasion and the force of example to keep men on the right path. Their difference lies in this that when such means are inadequate, Socialism uses the current forces of violence to bring men back to their senses, but Gandhism brings into play the matchless weapon of *Satyagraha*. Herein lies the superiority of Gandhism. Mr. Gregg believes that the latter will perhaps bring about a more fundamental revolution in human affairs than can ever be achieved by any scheme which ultimately relies upon violence.

One fact of importance seems to have been overlooked by Mr. Gregg and that is the attitude of the two systems in connection with the State. Gandhism never gives to the State the paramount power accorded to it by Socialism. The freedom of the human conscience is a priceless treasure which Gandhiji is not prepared to barter for anything on earth. If he gives to the State a certain measure of obedience, it is never with regard to the fundamentals. In the ideal State, man rules himself in absolute conformity with the good of mankind. The evolution of that condition of conscious and enlightened self-control should be the aim of all social education. The State functions only so long as man does not reach that condition, and our object should be finally to wean man from such artificial aids to good living, however necessary they may have been at the earlier stages. Man can outgrow that condition and bring the disruptive tendencies in his nature completely under control by the exercise of the will.

The attitude of the Socialists is fundamentally different from this. They believe that man's actions are controlled more by his instincts than conscious endeavours, and it is not possible to bring the instincts completely under control. As most of the powerful instincts are disruptive in tendency, mankind will always require an outside agency to guide his activities towards the common good. It is therefore wisest to make the State as good as possible and to give over the entire charge of man's activities to such a State.

Thus while Gandhism tries to stimulate a permanent purification of human motives through faith and voluntary effort, Socialism, lacking such faith, seeks to bring about a similar transformation of motives by a slow, laborious and watchful process of education, which is ever carried on under the shadow of the fear that, as soon as the influence of such education is removed, man will spring back into his instinctive animal nature. Whether such fears are justified or whether it is wiser in the end to pin all our faith on the latent good in human nature and on the future possibility of its being able to control and direct itself in the interests of humanity, is more than any one can say. But this difference in attitude seems to us to distinguish fundamentally Socialism from Gandhism.

Mr. Gregg's book seems to have missed this vital problem in connection with the State. The book may not have done justice to Socialism, but so far as Gandhism is concerned, it gives us a very lucid and illuminating analysis. We are sure the book will be welcomed by the public as an introduction to a subject which is of great interest at the present moment.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

S. Durai Raja Singam
Govt English High School
Pekan, Pahang
Federated Malay States,
via Singapore.

If spirit is eternal, then for it to transform our present life requires great sacrifices to prove its superiority. The rapidity of deaths proves nothing if the quality of life is raised.

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Mr. Clarke at S.T. said he had heard that a castor bean plant in a garden will keep off moles. He said he had heard about squeals & cries being expelled by ; but had never tried it.

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If in a struggle with gas on one side & poison gas is used by the other, moral & physical contact is lost, the values of the attacker are dropped & ∴ all cooperation ceases. Thus the attacker would aid in producing non-cooperation. A moral revulsion. Perhaps the use of gas in modern war will have much to do with the

abandonment of old values by the world at large.

—

Re Buddhist monks rules on money
re Vinaya-Pittaka - trans. Rhys-
David, in Sacred Books of East. Also
re Elliott - Hinduism & Buddhism

—

Berea College Student Industries,
Berea, Ky.

Interior Architecture & Decoration,
47 Park Ave. N.Y.C.

—

Skim milk & water, 1/2 & 1/2, is good
for lambs.

—

It might seem that Br power in
India might drag along, Br. prestige
limit gradually
steadily & going down all over the

world. But Congress method + Gandhi's influence are solidifying the nation with very great speed. The administrative machinery staff will ~~suffer~~ crumble + perhaps crack relatively soon. Malaviya's baptizing an untouchable at the Ganges is a good portent. Today (July 15) I and ~~that~~ Untouchables this meeting mean Bombay clinched out the few who wanted separate electorates. The anger + dismay of Jayakar and Sastri, while ludicrous, may make much trouble for Govt. Home's reaction to it looks like ~~unyielding~~. If they really break away the communal award will ~~already~~ be an impossibility in action and may not even be attempted. If they break away ~~soon~~, it will affect Ottawa. If Br. yields + they smash R.T.C.

the Moderates will certainly take on the Congress struggle & make threats, as they did at 1st N.T.C., and will display Br dirty work in India to the world on at least two occasions to Br weaknesses there. I think Br will refuse a N.T.C. and risk it, out of Tory stupidity, attempting to succeeding to hold outside & all sorts of corruption & rough work to hold inside India.

Having admit the value of village civilization but thinks that an organized world economy can be equally long-lived.

Perhaps aiming at big organizations helped bring more

devices into being.

Using this fact that Indian industrialists are using Gandhi, and that when the revolution comes they will turn on him and the peasants and shoot them down. Say it happened in China and always will happen. But he doesn't understand the effect of NVR on the Indian industrialists & the hinderance offered by Hindu religion. But this into my lecture.

As the Indian newspapers are crushed the city people will believe all of the rumours of frightfulness & worse of the pro-Bs or guilt communiques. Peasants will believe their own evidence

The Bs talk about Gandhi's failure to be "constructive" at R T C. is their disappointment because he could not be flattered, bribed or bullied.

—

~~I~~ Just as there are ways and disciplines for realizing God in oneself, so there are ways of evolving or realizing God in others. S.V.R. is one such.

—

"Righteous"

"Indignation because of wrongs to others requires a sense of security for oneself." Not so noble. Anger too has the same requirement. As soon as "righteous" indignant people do anything effective to bring down action against themselves they are plain angry or else afraid.

All living things tend to increase, good as well as bad, ~~capitalism~~ Gandhism as well as capitalism; and if they don't they die.

The recent discovery of connexion between pituitary hormone and adrenal control may indicate the validity of certain Hatha yoga exercises. It may also indicate that by mental control we can control the diameter of nerves in adrenals without the need for fear and anger to pull the trigger. That realization of spiritual unity of all creation will avoid need for certain kinds of ejection and will guide energies in right path. Suffering (voluntary) means giving up certain modes of activity & their implications in order to learn a better way. We may learn that better way by self-education directly.

Perhaps my book can help save the Church from its alliance with the State, but that is doubtful, as both are so institutionalized into vested interests.

—

I respect a NV resister's love discipline & hope into violence, they fail to gain victory.

—

If Mennonites all decide to boycott R.T.C. I'm will have a very different situation when it comes to coming negotiations.

—

Gandhi, I think, was not going to compromise with the Viceroy last Jan. He was going to show us, weaken Viceroy morale, & gain time for reorganization of Congress volunteers.

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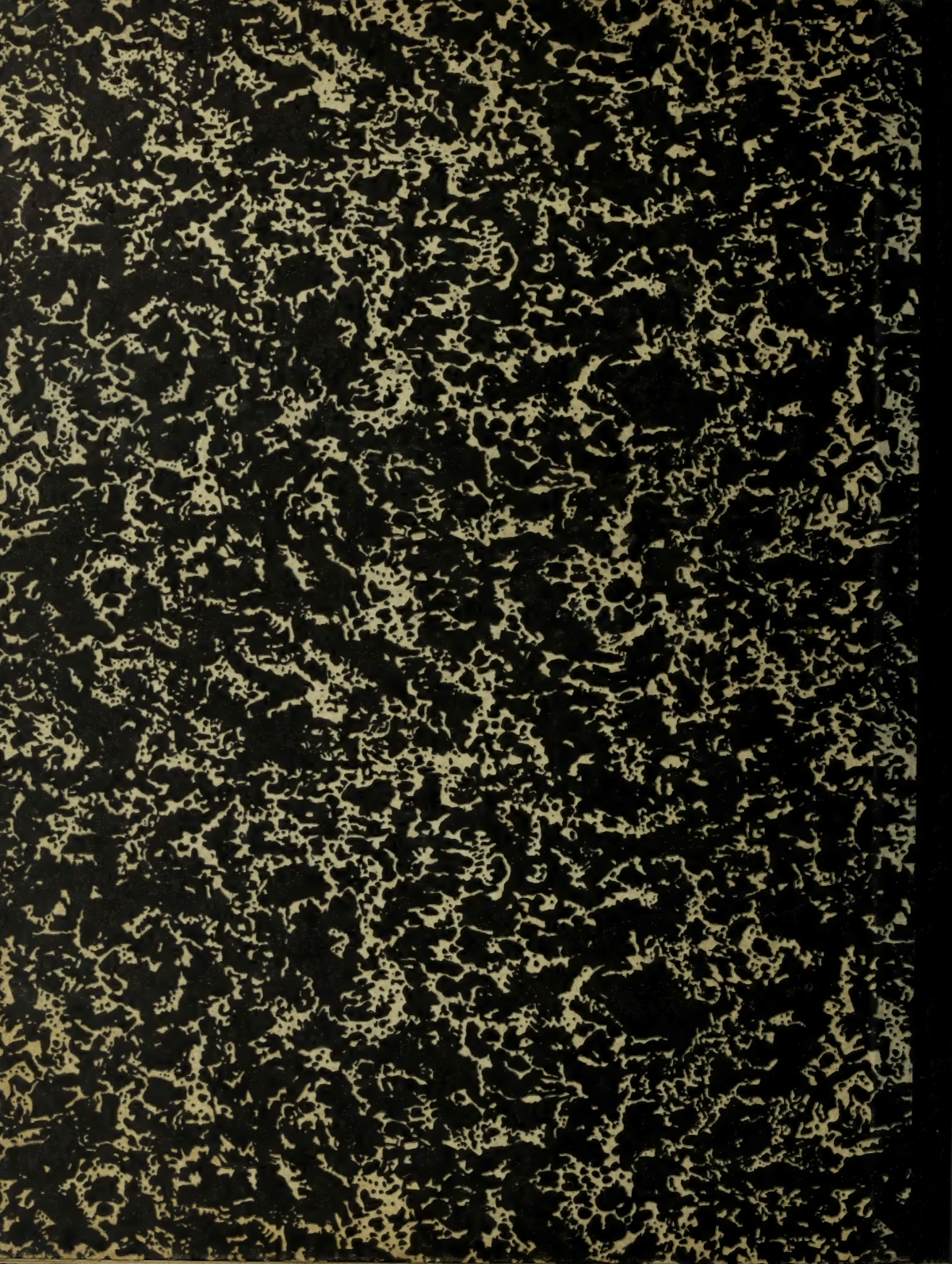
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